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PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE, PRESIDENT TRUMAN, PREMIER STALIN AND THEIR AIDES, AT POTSDAM (*Pages 401, 402*)

# *The World's Great Events*

An Indexed History of the World  
from Earliest Times to the Present Day



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VOLUME TEN

*From A.D. 1939 to date*

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# CONTENTS

## VOLUME TEN

FROM A.D. 1939 TO DATE

	PAGE
BRITAIN MUST GO TO WAR (A.D. 1939) . . . . . Neville Chamberlain	I
EUROPE COMPLETES A CYCLE (A.D. 1939) . . . . . Ludwig Lore	II
THE NAZIS COME (A.D. 1940) . . . . . Florence Jaffray Harriman	29
BATTLE TO THE SEA (A.D. 1940) . . . . .	59
THE ARMY OF DESPAIR (A.D. 1940) . . . . . Quentin Reynolds	65
THE INVASION OF RUSSIA (A.D. 1941) . . . . . Winston Churchill	77
PEARL HARBOR (A.D. 1941) . . . . . Gilbert Cant	87
CONGRESS DECLARES A STATE OF WAR WITH JAPAN (A.D. 1941) .	109
THE KNOCKOUT AT MIDWAY (A.D. 1942) . . . . . Fletcher Pratt . . .	113
THE FIRST "SECOND FRONT" (A.D. 1942) . . . . . Sidney B. Fay	135
A CLOSE-UP AT STALINGRAD (A.D. 1942-1943) . . . . . Erich Weinert	151

	PAGE
SALERNO (A.D. 1943) . . . . .	173
Al Newman	
REPORT FROM TARAWA (A.D. 1943) . . . . .	183
Robert Sherrod	
PENICILLIN (A.D. 1943) . . . . .	193
E. K. Gubin	
THE MIRACLE OF AMERICAN PRODUCTION (A.D. 1943) . . . . .	203
Burnham Finney	
THE INVASION (A.D. 1944) . . . . .	215
Allan A. Michie—Frederic Sondern, Jr.—Ira Wolfert	
V-DAY IN PARIS (A.D. 1944) . . . . .	251
Ernie Pyle	
AMERICA'S GREATEST NAVAL BATTLE (A.D. 1944) . . . . .	257
Quentin Reynolds—George E. Jones—Frank D. Morris— Ralph Teatsorth	
MILITARY SURGERY (A.D. 1944) . . . . .	301
Kyle Crichton	
A LETTER FROM IWO JIMA (A.D. 1945) . . . . .	315
Edgar L. Jones	
FAREWELL TO F. D. R. (A.D. 1945) . . . . .	333
I. F. Stone	
VICTORY IN EUROPE (A.D. 1945) . . . . .	341
WE MUST WIN ANOTHER BATTLE IN GERMANY . . . . .	357
Curt Riess	
TERROR IN JAPAN (A.D. 1945) . . . . .	371
Mark Gayn	
UNITED NATIONS: LAST CHANCE (A.D. 1945) . . . . .	387
THE ATOMIC AGE (A.D. 1945) . . . . .	403
THE "RISING SUN" SETS (A.D. 1945) . . . . .	409
Frank W. Price	

# ILLUSTRATIONS

## VOLUME TEN

PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE, PRESIDENT TRUMAN, PREMIER STALIN AND THEIR AIDES AT POTSDAM.....	<i>Frontispiece</i>
--	---------------------

FACING PAGE

CHANCELLOR HITLER REVIEWS THE GERMAN VICTORY PARADE IN WARSAW AND GIVES THE NAZI SALUTE TO THE ARTILLERY AS IT PASSES .....	26
---	----

*From a photograph*

BRITISH AND FRENCH TROOPS QUEUE UP ON THE BEACHES OF DUNKIRK TO AWAIT RESCUE. IN THE EPIC EVACUATION, MAY 30 TO JUNE 4, 1940, SOME 335,000 TRAPPED MEN WERE TRANS- PORTED SAFELY TO ENGLAND .....	42
--	----

*From a photograph*

NAZI VICTORS IN THE PLACE VENDOME, PARIS, AFTER THE SUR- RENDER OF THE UNDEFENDED CITY, JUNE 14, 1940. A CLIMAX IN ONE OF THE GREAT WORLD TRAGEDIES.....	74
--	----

*From a photograph*

PEARL HARBOR, DECEMBER 7, 1941. U.S. BATTLESHIPS <i>West Vir- ginia</i> , <i>Tennessee</i> AND <i>Arizona</i> LIE STRICKEN AFTER THE JAPA- NESE ATTACK. THE <i>Arizona</i> , WHICH EXPLODED AND SANK, WAS A TOTAL LOSS....	106
--	-----

*From a photograph*

DESTRUCTION IN STALINGRAD. SOLDIERS AND ARMED CIVILIANS IN ONE OF THE BLOODIEST BATTLES IN RUSSIAN HISTORY TURNED BACK THE GERMAN INVADERS WHO HAD PENETRATED THE CENTRAL PART OF THE CITY. LOSSES IN MEN AND EQUIPMENT ON BOTH SIDES WERE ENORMOUS.....	154
--	-----

*From a photograph*

AERIAL VIEW OF THE PRISONER OF WAR CAMP AT MATEUR, NORTH AFRICA, FILLED WITH GERMAN TROOPS CAPTURED IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE TUNISIAN CAMPAIGN. AXIS RESISTANCE ENDED MAY 12, 1943 ..	170
<i>From a photograph</i>	
D-DAY, JUNE 6, 1944. NAZI UNDERWATER OBSTACLES ARE REVEALED BY THE EBBING TIDE ON A NORMANDY BEACH. IN THE FOREGROUND ARE ALLIED VEHICLES WRECKED DURING THE LANDING OPERATIONS ..	234
<i>From a photograph</i>	
AMERICAN TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT POUR ASHORE IN THE LINGAYEN GULF AREA OF LUZON, IN THE PHILIPPINES, ON JANUARY 9, 1945 ..	282
<i>From a photograph</i>	
UNITED STATES MARINES CROUCH IN THE VOLCANIC SANDS OF IWO JIMA EARLY IN THE INVASION OF THIS VITAL STEPPING STONE TO JAPAN, FEBRUARY 19, 1945. ..	330
<i>From a photograph</i>	
REPRESENTATIVES OF NAZI GERMANY SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY TO THE ALLIES IN A SCHOOLHOUSE AT RHEIMS, FRANCE, 2:41 A.M., MAY 7, 1945 (8:41 P.M., MAY 6, E.W.T.) ..	346
<i>From a photograph</i>	
THE FORMAL SURRENDER OF JAPAN, SEPTEMBER 1, 1945. SCENE ABOARD THE U.S.S. <i>Missouri</i> IN TOKYO BAY JUST BEFORE GENERAL MACARTHUR SIGNED THE SURRENDER DOCUMENTS ..	410
<i>From a photograph</i>	

# BRITAIN MUST GO TO WAR

(A.D. 1939)

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

(Address made to the House of Commons, September 1, 1939)

I DO not propose to say many words tonight. The *Time*  
time has come when action rather than speech is re- *for*  
quired. Eighteen months ago I prayed that the re- *action.*  
sponsibility would not fall upon me to ask this country  
to accept the awful arbitrament of war. I fear that I may  
not be able to avoid that responsibility, but, at any rate,  
I could not wish that conditions in which such a burden  
should fall upon me were clearer than they are today.

No man could say that the government could have done  
more to try and keep open the way for an honorable  
and equitable settlement for the dispute between Ger-  
many and Poland, nor have we neglected any means  
of making crystal clear to the German Government that  
if they insisted on using force in the manner in which *Made*  
they have used it in the past, we were resolved to oppose *clear to*  
*Germany.*  
them by force.

Now that all the relevant documents are being made  
public, we shall stand at the bar of history knowing that

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*German  
Chancellor  
responsible.*

the responsibility for this terrible catastrophe lies on the shoulders of one man. The German Chancellor has not hesitated to plunge the world into misery in order to serve his own senseless ambitions.

I would like to thank the House for the forbearance they have shown me on two recent occasions in not demanding from me information which they recognize I could not give while these negotiations were still in progress.

All correspondence with the German Government is being published in the form of a White Paper which will be available to Members, coming in relays, while the House is sitting.

*Clash  
might  
have been  
avoided.*

I do not think it necessary for me to refer in detail now to these documents, which are already past history. They make it perfectly clear that our object has been to try to bring about discussions about the Polish-German dispute between the two countries themselves, on terms of equality, the settlement to be one which safeguarded the independence of Poland and which secured its due observance by international guarantees. There is just one passage from a recent communication of ours, dated August 30, which I should like to quote, for it shows how easily the final clash might have been avoided if there had been the least desire on the part of the German Government to arrive at a peaceful settlement. In this document we state this:

“This government fully recognizes the need for speed in the initiation of discussions. They share the apprehensions of the Chancellor arising from the proximity of two mobilized armies standing face to face. They accordingly most strongly urge that both governments should undertake that during the negotiations no aggressive military movements will take place. His Majesty’s government feels confident that they can obtain such an undertaking from the Polish Government if the German Government would give similar assurances.”

That telegram, which was repeated to Poland, brought an instantaneous reply from the Polish Government, dated August 31, in which they say that the Polish Government are also prepared, on a reciprocal basis, to give a formal guarantee, in the event of negotiations taking place, that Polish troops will not violate the frontier of the German Reich, provided that a corresponding guarantee is given that there would be no violation of Poland by troops of the German Reich.

*Polish  
troops will  
not violate  
frontier of  
Reich.*

We never had any reply from the German Government to that suggestion. It was one which, if it had been followed, must have saved the catastrophe which took place this morning. In the German broadcast last night, which recited the sixteen points of the proposals which they had put forward, there occurred this sentence: “In these circumstances, the Reich Government considered its proposals rejected.”

*No reply  
from  
German  
Government.*

I must examine that statement. I must tell the House what are the circumstances.

*Proposals  
not com-  
municated  
to Poland.*

To begin with, let me say that these proposals have never been communicated by Germany to Poland at all. On Tuesday, August 29, in replying to a note which we had sent to them the German Government said that they would immediately draw up proposals for a solution, acceptable to themselves, and would, if possible, place them at the disposal of the British Government before the arrival of the Polish negotiators.

It will be seen by an examination of the White Papers that the German Government has stated that they counted on the arrival of a plenipotentiary from Poland in Berlin on the 30th, the following day.

*England  
awaits  
proposals.*

In the meantime, of course, we were awaiting these proposals, but the next thing was that when our Ambassador saw Herr von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Secretary, he urged upon him that when these proposals were ready—for we had heard no more about them—he should invite the Polish Ambassador to call and should hand him the proposals for transmission to his government.

*Von Ribben-  
trop will  
not invite  
Polish  
Ambassador.*

Thereupon, reports our Ambassador, in the most violent terms Herr von Ribbentrop said he would never ask the Ambassador to visit him. If, he added, the Polish Ambassador asked him for an interview it might be different. The House will see this was on Wednesday night, which, according to the German statement of last night,

is now claimed to be the final date after which no negotiation with Poland would be possible.

It is plain, therefore, that Germany claims that Poland was in the wrong because she had not on Wednesday entered into negotiation with Germany on proposals which she (Poland) had never heard. Now, what of ourselves? On that Wednesday night, at the interview to which I have just referred, Herr von Ribbentrop produced a lengthy document which he read aloud in German at a rapid speed. Naturally, on this meeting, our Ambassador asked him for a copy of the document.

*Germany  
claims  
Poland is  
at fault.*

He replied that it was now too late, as the Polish representative had not arrived at Berlin at midnight and so we never got a copy of those proposals. The first time we heard them was on the broadcast last night. These were the circumstances in which the German Government said they considered their proposals were rejected. It is now clear that their conception of negotiation was that on an almost instantaneous demand the Polish plenipotentiary should go to Berlin, where others have been before him, and should then be confronted with a statement of the demands to be accepted in their entirety or refused.

I am not pronouncing an opinion on the terms themselves, for I do not feel called upon to do so. The proper course, in my view, was that these proposals should have been put before the Poles, who would have been given time to consider them and to say whether in their

*Proposals  
should  
have been  
put before  
the Poles.*

opinion they did or did not infringe those vital interests of Poland which Germany had assured us on a previous occasion she intended to respect.

Only last night the Polish Ambassador did see the German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Ribbentrop. Once again he expressed to him what indeed the Polish Government had already said publicly—that they were willing to negotiate with Germany about their disputes on an equal basis.

*Poland  
willing to  
negotiate.*

What was the reply of the German Government?

The reply was that without another word German troops crossed the Polish frontier this morning at dawn and are since reported to be bombing open towns. In these circumstances there is only one course open to us.

His Majesty's Ambassador in Berlin and the French Ambassador have been instructed to hand to the German Government the following document:

“Early this morning the German Chancellor issued a proclamation to the German Army which indicated clearly that he was about to attack Poland. Information which has reached His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the French Government indicates that German troops have crossed the Polish frontier and attacks on Polish towns are proceeding.

*German  
troops  
cross  
Polish  
border.*

In these circumstances it appears to the governments of the United Kingdom and France that by their action the German Government have created conditions—namely, an aggressive act of force against Poland

threatening the independence of Poland—which call for the immediate implementation by the governments of the United Kingdom and France of the undertaking to Poland to come to her assistance.

“I am accordingly to inform Your Excellency that unless the German Government are prepared to give His Majesty’s Government an assurance that the German Government have suspended all aggressive action against Poland and are prepared promptly to withdraw their forces from Polish territory, His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom will, without hesitation, fulfill their obligations to Poland.”

*English  
Government  
ready.*

If the reply to this last warning is unfavorable, and I do not suggest it is likely to be otherwise, His Majesty’s Ambassador is instructed to ask for his passport. In that case we are ready.

Yesterday we took further steps toward the completion of our defense preparations.

This morning we ordered complete mobilization of the whole of the navy, army, and air force. We have also taken a number of measures both at home and abroad which the House perhaps would not expect me to specify in detail.

*Complete  
mobilization  
ordered.*

Briefly, they represent the final steps in accordance with a prearranged plan. These last will be put into force rapidly and are of such a nature that they are deferred until war seems inevitable.

Steps have also been taken under powers conferred by the House last week to safeguard the position in regard to stocks and commodities of various kinds.

*Comparison with 1914.* The thoughts of many of us must inevitably at this moment be turning back to 1914. In comparison with our position then how do we stand at this time? The answer is that all three services are ready and that the situation in all directions is far more favorable and reassuring than in 1914.

*Air-raid precautions.* For behind the fighting services we have built up a vast organization of civil defense under the scheme of air-raid precautions.

As regards immediate man power requirements, the navy, the army and the Royal Air Force are now in the fortunate position of having almost as many men as they can conveniently handle at this moment.

*Men already available.* There are, however, certain categories of service in which men are required immediately both for military and civil defenses. These will be announced in detail through the press and the British Broadcasting Corporation. It is most satisfactory to observe that there is today no need to appeal in a general way for recruits, such as was issued by Lord Kitchener twenty-five years ago. That appeal has been anticipated by many months, and men are already available.

So much for the immediate present.

Now we must look for the future. It is essential in face of the tremendous task which confronts us, more espe-

cially in view of our past experience in this matter, to organize our man power this time upon as methodical, equitable and economical a basis as possible. We therefore propose immediately to introduce legislation directed to that end, and a bill will be laid before you which, for all practical purposes, will amount to an expansion of the military training act.

Under its operation all fit men between 18 and 41 will be rendered liable to military service if and when called upon. It is not intended at the outset that any considerable number of men, other than those already liable, will be called up, and steps will be taken to insure that men essentially required by industry will not be taken away. *Expansion of military training act.*

One other allusion before the close of my speech, and that is to record my satisfaction and the satisfaction of His Majesty's Government throughout these days of crisis to Signor Mussolini, who has been doing his best to reach a peaceful solution.

It only remains to set our teeth and enter upon this struggle, which we so earnestly endeavored to avoid, with a determination to see it through to the end. *Determined to the end.*

We shall enter it with a clear conscience and with the support of the Dominions and the British Empire and the moral approval of the greater part of the world. We have no quarrel with the German people except that they allowed themselves to be governed by a Nazi government. As long as that government pursues the



method which it has so persistently followed during the last two years there will be no peace in Europe.

*No peace  
in Europe.*

We should merely pass from one crisis to another and see one country attacked by another by methods which have now become familiar to us with their sickening technique. We are resolved that these methods must come to an end, and if, after the struggle, we can re-establish in the world the rules of good faith and the renunciation of force, then even the sacrifices entailed upon us will find their fullest justification.

## EUROPE COMPLETES A CYCLE

(A.D. 1939)

LUDWIG LORE

**T**RACING the war to its diplomatic origins is not an easy task. It is, however, an important one because it helps us to determine, at least approximately, who was responsible for the outburst.

Where to begin? How far back to go? The bitterness between Germany and Poland which culminated in the present war is not of recent date. It has been there ever since the Germans took a large part of Poland after the Napoleonic wars and made common cause with the Czarist Russia to keep their Polish subjects in subjection. *German-Polish bitterness of long standing.*

At the outbreak of the World War the German Imperial Government promised the Poles to restore their ancient kingdom—and made Poland the no-man's land of the war in the East. Then the Versailles Treaty created a new Polish State, but, in the process, hacked Germany in two, creating a situation that precluded a lasting German-Polish peace.

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Thus, when Hitler came to power, he inherited a situation already tense with antagonism, largely, to be sure, of his own making. Hitler's accession threw the Poles into a panic, and they were profoundly relieved when, instead of invading their country, Hitler and the Polish ambassador made the astounding announcement that their two countries had come to an understanding, when in January, 1934, Germany and Poland signed a ten year non-aggression pact.

*Non-  
aggression  
pact.*

Poland's desertion of her old ally, France, which had nursed her through the difficult years of her early statehood, had a pronounced effect on European diplomatic relationships. For France, fearing an undue strengthening of Germany's power, turned to the Soviet Union, concluded her famous non-aggression pact with Moscow, and helped Litvinoff perfect a chain of peace treaties with the small countries along Russia's western frontier—a move which in turn made Poland press even more frantically into Hitler's embrace.

*Russia  
makes  
treaties  
with  
countries  
on western  
frontier.*

After the death of Marshal Pilsudski, Polish dictator, who had been dominated completely by his pro-German Foreign Minister Col. Beck, his successor General Smigly-Rydz made new overtures to England and France, without, however, breaking off relations with Germany. It was his idea that Poland could best safeguard her own and European peace by observing strict neutrality between the contending forces. Nor did he

overlook the fact that France and England were in a position to give financial aid which Poland badly needed.

So Poland balanced precariously until Germany's Anschluss with Austria wakened all her old fears anew. Thereupon she held several discussions with Moscow and Rumania, which ended in a Polish-Rumanian Treaty, the terms of which were never clearly defined. Whether or not Rumania forgot her resentment over Moscow's refusal to give up Bessarabia, and agreed to let Russia march troops through her territory in case of war, has never been established. In the present war Rumania, so far, has observed painstaking neutrality. *Polish-Rumanian Treaty.*

That was how matters stood when Germany marched into Czechoslovakia last year and set up the stage for the worst of Poland's many diplomatic blunders. Poland's relations with Czechoslovakia had always suffered from the fact that the post-war peace treaties left unsolved frontier problems. In a peace treaty she signed with Czechoslovakia in the early 20's Poland had promised to drop her claim on portions of Slovakia, while Czechoslovakia had agreed to do likewise in regard to parts of Eastern Galicia. In 1934 there had been a new and serious flare-up of hostilities as a direct result of Poland's pact with Berlin. Most of the controversy centered around the district of Teschen in the south-east corner of Silesia, and feeling was still tense in the fall of 1938 when the Czechoslovakian crisis forced by Hitler shook Europe to its foundation. Poland at once announced her- *Czech-Polish relations. Czechoslovakian crisis.*

self in on any division of Czechoslovakia. Hungary presented similar claims and Czechoslovakia, crushed by the Munich tragedy, yielded to both.

To understand Poland's strange foreign policy, one must appreciate how powerfully it was influenced at all times by her fear of her Russian neighbor, which was every bit as great as her dread of German invasion. That this fear was well grounded is all too grimly evidenced in the thoroughness with which an opportunistic Russia invaded her country a few weeks ago and snuffed out whatever remaining chances she may have had against Germany.

*Poland's  
fear of  
Russia.*

The bad blood engendered by the Soviet-Polish war in 1921, when the Red Army almost smashed the young Polish Republic after Marshal Pilsudski's invasion of the Ukraine, left an indelible stain on Russo-Polish relations. Poland professed to live, and probably did live, in constant apprehension, though nothing was further from Moscow's thoughts in the early years of the Soviet Revolution than a war of territorial acquisition. In fact, the Soviets themselves lived in constant fear of invasion by the western powers. These two fears, instead of neutralizing each other, intensified distrust and hysteria.

*Soviet-  
Polish  
war of  
1921.*

As the years passed Poland lost some of her terror of Russian invasion, but her resentment at Communist propaganda grew in the same measures. Worst of all, however, was her knowledge that, in any war between Russia and capitalistic Europe, Poland would inevitably

*Resentment  
at Commu-  
nist  
propaganda.*

become the battleground. It was this that made the life of the Polish Foreign Minister an endless endeavor to play Moscow against Berlin and Berlin against Moscow, to keep either from becoming too powerful for safety.

In 1932, Poland engineered a non-aggression pact with Russia. This was before the coming of Hitler, and the agreement was received by the German press with little, if any, disapproval. In September, 1933, the news that Moscow had sent a personal gift to Marshal Pilsudski, together with an invitation to come to Moscow to participate in a Red Army's celebration, gave rise to the report that the two countries had concluded a military alliance, though Moscow vigorously denied it. *Reports of military alliance denied.*

One can imagine Moscow's feelings in January, 1934, when it learned of the Polish-German 10-year pact. Colonel Beck hastened to the Russian capital with reassurances and a few weeks later two Soviet-Polish protocols were added to Europe's diplomatic documents. But feeling between Moscow and Poland remained tense. When Poland learned that France had proposed a military loan to Moscow in connection with the Franco-Russian Treaty, she demanded that France should permit none of the loan to be used by Russia to build roads and bridges to the Polish borders. Thereafter Warsaw carefully abjured anything but the most formal relations with her Soviet neighbor, in an effort to avoid giving Germany the slightest reason for complaint. *Tension between Russia and Poland.*

*Poland  
masses  
army on  
Ukrainian  
border.*

Last year, a new rift threatened Polish-Soviet relations when the Poles entered the Czech situation with their demand for a portion of Ruthenia. Russia stormed and Poland replied by massing most of her army on the Ukrainian border, but her heart was not in it. President Moscicki and Colonel Beck were in favor of facing matters out on the side of the victorious Hitler, but Marshal Smigly-Rydz counselled against it.

While all this was going on, there was a new development on the continent—a growing determination by England and France to create an aggressive front against further Nazi expansion. In Warsaw, too, there the conviction was growing that what happened in Europe would eventually depend on England and France. Wherefore Colonel Beck betook himself to France late last December to talk matters over.

*Germany  
backs  
Ukrainian  
nationalist  
movement.*

Germany's backing of a Ukrainian nationalist movement was causing Warsaw anxiety. The Nazi Government was pursuing a broad scheme for a Greater Ukraine which would include parts of Poland, Rumania and Russia, along with a section of Czechoslovakia (Ruthenia). The situation seemed to call for a united defense by Russia, Rumania and Poland, with France as the arbiter of such an agreement.

While Poland's old pact with France had never been denounced, it had become almost meaningless. There was a reasonable doubt whether France would feel called upon to defend the Poles against German assault. How-

ever, the outcome of Colonel Beck's visit to Paris was more favorable than he could have hoped. Late in February Warsaw announced that he would also visit London shortly. On March 21st a British delegation arrived in Warsaw to see Colonel Beck on "matters of general concern;" on March 22nd London reported that Poland had requested a Polish-British military alliance as the price for her signature to a stop-Hitler declaration. It was intimated also that Poland had approached Moscow for a guarantee of help, but that the Soviets had refused to commit themselves without the certain knowledge that Britain and France would combat an active German thrust. Not long afterward Warsaw reported that the road had been paved for closer Polish-British trade relations to stimulate Poland's new industrialization plan, and a few weeks later, on March 30th, Prime Minister Chamberlain pledged French and British military assistance to Poland in case of attack by Germany, leaving it to Poland to decide whether or not such aid should be sent. It was London's first official departure from Munich.

*Polish-British relations.*

*Chamberlain pledges assistance to Poland.*

In the future history of Europe, the word "Munich" will be synonymous with a foreign policy that seeks to appease an aggressor nation in the hope of getting some small concession in return. On September 30, 1938, the Munich Conference between Chamberlain and Daladier on one side and Mussolini and Hitler on the other ended its negotiations with the following pledge:

*Munich Conference.*



*Importance  
of Anglo-  
German  
relations.*

"We, the German Fuehrer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting today and are agreed in recognizing that the question of Anglo-German relations is of first importance for the two countries and for Europe.

"We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German naval agreement as symbolic of the desires of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again.

"We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe."

*London  
indignant  
over invasion  
of Czecho-  
slovakia.*

To recall the details of the Czechoslovakian deal is surely superfluous. How the Czechs were betrayed into defenses, how Hitler forced them to accept Reich domination—all this is fresh in our minds. There was a storm of indignation in London. When Hitler took Czechoslovakia into his Empire seven months later the Prime Minister explained, ruefully, that this was something no one could have foreseen. Hitler was not stopped. Paris and London were content to register paper protests, and the British Prime Minister delivered a petulant speech. But Czechia remained a German satrapy.

There was no excuse for what happened in Munich and after. Hitler's record was there for everyone to read.

On December 1, 1935, he had joined Prague in a treaty which pledged both parties to submit all differences to a permanent arbitration commission. Yet when President Benes of Czechoslovakia demanded to be heard before the commission in September, 1938, he was informed that it had been abandoned. Furthermore, Hitler had promised Austria, not once, but many times, to respect her sovereignty and independence. He had repudiated his naval agreement with Britain just three months before. Surely there was no valid reason to believe that he would keep his word now.

*Hitler's  
treachery.*

Chamberlain has been violently attacked for having acted in bad faith. The fact that Hitler's treachery to Czechoslovakia wrought so deep a change in this austere man proves that these charges were groundless. March, 1939, was the turning point in Mr. Chamberlain's life, aye, and a turning point in British history. England began to arm in earnest. She almost doubled her air fleet in a few short months. New departments were added to her Defense Ministries. There was an upheaval and a wholesale casting off of old ways and methods.

*Turning  
point in  
British  
history.*

Hand in hand with this internal readjustment there has been a reorientation of British relations with France. On February 6, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons pledged to France "the immediate co-operation of this country in case of any attack to the vital interests of France, from whatever quarter it might come,"

*Chamberlain  
pledges  
co-operation  
to France.*

heading off various rumors that London planned to leave the French to see it through alone. Italy's demand for Tunis found England so positively on the side of the French that Rome dropped the whole business. France, for her part, was a great deal more positive on the question of German colonies than she had ever been before.

*Military  
conscription  
in England.*

The first opportunity to test the strength of the new Franco-British alliance came when France asked England to break with her age-old tradition of no conscription in peace time. England rose to the test and military conscription was adopted with amazingly little protest—a fine testimonial to the British workers' sense of social and international solidarity. Another test came when Paris asked London to propose an arms alliance to the Soviet Union as the only chance of preventing another war. England complied, though the thought of approaching Moscow must have been gall and wormwood.

When London sent her first invitation to Moscow last March, the Foreign Commissar responded with gratifying willingness. There had been rumors of negotiations between Moscow and Berlin for a trade agreement as early as last November but the Russians gave no sign of having weakened in their determination to fight Fascism to the last round.

*Russia  
refuses to  
accept  
British  
terms.*

It soon became clear, however, that Moscow had not the slightest intention of entering into an agreement with Britain on London's terms. She made demand after demand, offered objection after objection. Just what

transpired during these discussions was never officially reported. It was said that she wanted protection against a possible German invasion of the Baltic Republics, and nobody will deny that this demand was justified. Others reported that she wanted the right of protective intervention in these states should they be directly or indirectly menaced by the Reich. Against such an agreement, which would have permitted the Red Army to march into the Baltic area whenever Moscow chose to believe Baltic security threatened, the countries in question raised a loud protest. *Protection of Baltic Republics.*

At the time it appeared that the real point at issue was mutual distrust between the British and Russian statesmen. There were rumors that London was negotiating an underhand settlement with Hitler, and their persistence seemed to justify apprehension, particularly since Chamberlain stubbornly refused to take either Anthony Eden or Winston Churchill, conservative opponents of appeasement, into his Cabinet. *Mutual distrust.*

Later there were reports that Moscow was holding up the agreement with two conditions: 1) that no party to the pact should be allowed to conclude a separate peace without the permission of all the others; 2) that Russia must move into military action simultaneously with Britain in the event of hostilities. In other words the impression was that Moscow wanted to protect herself against another surprise *d la* Munich, in which she might be left holding the bag. Chamberlain, on his side, un- *Russia's conditions.*

doubtedly had more than an intimation of the game that Hitler and Stalin were preparing behind the scenes.

*Anglo-French  
Military  
Commission.*

Be that as it may. The facts are that Mr. Strang, a prominent member of the British Foreign Office, was sent to Moscow, only to be recalled after many weeks of fruitless dickerings; that Moscow finally demanded an Anglo-French military commission to discuss technical military questions with a like Russian commission; that this commission was sent to the Russian capital and was still on the spot when the bomb finally burst.

*Russo-German non-aggression  
pact.*

On August 20th Moscow and Berlin announced the completion of a Russo-German trade pact under which the Soviet Union would take German goods to the amount of 200,000,000 marks and sell to Germany 180,000,000 marks' worth of manganese, oil, wood, ores and other war supplies. The pact was signed at once. Four days later von Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow and concluded a Russo-German non-aggression pact in less than three hours of negotiations with Foreign Commissar Molotoff. Ten days later it was ratified by the Supreme Soviet and by the German Reichstag. It has been argued and is undoubtedly true, that a non-aggression pact need not necessarily have a political significance. Unfortunately the speeches and declarations that accompanied its adoption justified no such conclusion. Moreover the pact in itself is virtually a military alliance, since in it Russia undertakes to supply Germany with raw materials she needs for her army and her war industries. The mili-

*Military  
Alliance.*

tary nature of the alliance was thrown into bold relief when, on September 17th, Soviet Russia marched into the Polish Ukraine, thus directly helping Germany to score the knock-out blow on Poland and enabling the Reich to transfer troops to the West.

*Russia  
marches  
into Polish  
Ukraine.*

What makes the Russo-German agreements so suspicious is the secrecy with which they were engineered. Soviet defenders insist that Moscow in self-defense was driven to act as she did by Chamberlain's obstinate refusal to come to terms. Yet there is every indication that the Russo-German treaty was already under discussion when Paris and London began their Moscow talks. It was certainly far advanced when Russia asked London to send a military mission. Moscow has found it difficult to explain this double dealing.

But by their fruits ye shall know them, and the fruits of the Russo-German agreement were not long in ripening. On the day of its ratification, Hitler marched his army into Poland, giving the lie to the official Communist Party version that the U.S.S.R. had made this last supreme sacrifice to preserve world peace.

*Hitler's  
troops  
invade  
Poland.*

In the light of what has happened since—the sending of a commission of high military officials to Berlin disguised as embassy attachés, and especially the Russian invasion of Poland on the East—one is forced to conclude that Stalin, faced with a choice between greater power for Russia and a possible war on the side of democracies, too weak to take a positive stand, fearing, per-

haps, another Munich appeasement, chose the former, letting the international labor movement and the world revolution take care of themselves as best they can.

*Collapse  
of anti  
Comintern  
Axis  
predicted.*

When the Russo-German treaty was first announced some observers predicted the collapse of the anti-Comintern Axis, involving Germany, Italy, Japan and minor powers, as one item on the credit side of Moscow's ledger. Immediate events gave some weight to this assumption. Mussolini did not plunge into war when Germany did. In Spain, Franco likewise issued a neutrality declaration, declaring openly that his anti-Communist convictions made it impossible for him to come to terms with Russia. Japan's sharp disapproval of the Russo-German treaty was to be expected in view of her undeclared war with Russia in Outer Mongolia and China and at various other points along the east-Siberian frontier. However, Germany has succeeded in persuading Tokio to settle her quarrel with Moscow. With the aid of Germany and Russia, Japan is now free to pursue her undeclared war in China with much greater chance of success. It is an open secret that the guerrilla wars with which Chiang Kai-shek has been harrying Nippon's armies were largely financed and equipped by the Soviet Union.

*Japan free  
to pursue  
Chinese  
War.*

It is possible that Stalin intends to turn his back on Europe altogether with the idea of making rich Siberia the center of gravity of Russia's economy. That would leave Germany a free hand to pursue her expansionist aims in eastern Europe, strengthened by the assurance

that Russia no longer would offer resistance at the other end of the line.

Meanwhile, Moscow's defection from England and France and her military action against Poland add tremendously to their burden. The war on the western front may go on for months, perhaps years, without decisive advantages for either side.

However, it is possible, indeed it is more than likely, that a number of the small neutral states will be drawn into the vortex before the war is over. That the German army will have to violate one or more neutral states if the war lasts much longer may be taken for granted. The Oslo states—Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg—have concluded a mutual assistance pact and are expected to denounce all trade relations with the German aggressor if the sovereignty of any of them is violated. That in itself would be an enormous contribution to the allied cause since Russia has no appreciable surplus with which she could feed a blockaded Germany for any length of time.

*Neutral states likely to be involved.*

*Oslo states conclude pact.*

Berlin still hopes to persuade the Balkan states to come to her assistance, particularly Bulgaria, whose king, a German by descent, has shown sympathy for the Axis Powers. Italy and Germany had been mending their fences in the Danubian and Balkan areas for years, while Britain and France until recently pursued an incredibly short-sighted policy. Their repeated refusals to give financial aid to these financially weak states might easily



*Turkey is  
counter-  
balance  
to Axis  
Powers.*

have driven them all into the Axis. What kept them out was the fear of becoming German vassals. An effective counter-balance to the Axis Powers in southeastern Europe has been the Turkish Republic, which has taken an unqualified stand with the Allied Powers, even to offering to close the Dardanelles to German shipping.

*Italy as a  
neutral  
is help to  
Germany.*

To what extent the United States will come to the aid of the Allied Powers remains to be seen. On the side of Germany, Italy also is an unknown factor, though this writer has never believed and still does not believe in Rome's continued neutrality. Mussolini unquestionably is keeping out of the fight for the time being in an understanding with Hitler, for strategic and other reasons. Exhausted as they are, after the African and Spanish campaigns, his troops would not weigh heavily in the balance. As a neutral, on the other hand, he can keep the Allies from moving in on Germany from the south-east and make it almost impossible for Rumania and Yugoslavia to break their neutrality in favor of Poland and her associates.

Out of this welter of cross purposes and seeming confusion there is emerging a clear division between two world ideologies, two schools of political thought. This is no longer a war between nations. When Chamberlain and Eden declared that there could be no peace with Hitler they lifted the conflict to a new plane. Today the peoples of Europe are in a war of democracy against



CHANCELLOR HITLER REVIEWS THE GERMAN VICTORY PARADE IN WARSAW AND GIVES THE NAZI SALUTE TO THE ARTILLERY AS IT PASSES (*Page 27*)

FROM A WIDI WORLD PHOTOGRAPH



fascism as well as intolerable social and political suppression. *Democracy against Fascism.*

From the diplomatic maze out of which this conflict grew there is arising with startling clearness the fact that, for the first time in modern civilization, governments were forced by public opinion to take up arms against an aggressor nation. The price will be incalculable and the masses of all nations will pay it in blood and terrible suffering. Will it be worth it? That is for the peoples in the democratic countries to determine.

[September 28, 1939. Warsaw surrenders to German forces. November 4. The United States arms embargo is repealed in favor of a "cash and carry" trade with belligerents. November 30. Russian troops invade Finland. December 13. German pocket battleship *Graf Spee*, disabled in battle with British cruisers, seeks refuge in harbor at Montevideo. December 17. Ordered out of Montevideo by the Uruguayan Government, the *Graf Spee* is scuttled by her crew. February 4, 1940. The United States enters into diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia for the first time. March 12. Russia and Finland sign peace treaty. April 9. Germans march into Denmark and Norway.] *German crew scuttles the Graf Spee.*



# THE NAZIS COME

(A.D. 1940)

FLORENCE JAFFRAY HARRIMAN

**H**INDSIGHT we all seem to have. But it is fantastic that none of the things which happened in the week preceding the fatal daybreak of April 9th awakened us to danger. A hundred incidents should have prepared us. Instead we were transfixed, still watching the war in Finland. Early in January the ten-million-dollar loan to Norway for purchase of food-stuffs in America was arranged. In the middle of January, the King opened parliament, calling for a policy of strict neutrality and for greater defense appropriations. Princess Martha went about quietly laying plans for the taking over of men's work by women in case of war.

*Norway  
unaware of  
her danger.*

Even the *Altmark* incident, with all its political implications, excited us less as a portent that war was already in our own fjords than as some grotesque medieval story of rescue from dragons. Norwegian neutrality had been violated, but by whom? That was the important question. The Nazi ship had come down through Nor-

*Altmark  
incident.*

From *Mission to the North*, published by J. B. Lippincott Company,  
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wegian territorial waters, its ship's paper having been examined at Bergen, but the ship's hold not having been investigated. But the British had reason to believe that she carried British prisoners from ships sunk in the Atlantic by the *Graf Spee*. The very name of the British destroyer which discovered and pursued the *Altmark* up the narrow Jossing Fjord, *H.M.S. Cossack*, turned the incident into headline and legend. The fighting with cutlasses, the discovering of the prisoners, the rescue itself, of men who had been below hatches for weeks, were so dramatic that the legal consequences were overlooked by ordinary people. And a curious and equally startling incident in the aftermath was entirely unreported in the Press—unreported certainly, hushed up, more likely.

*Legendary  
quality of  
the Altmark  
incident.*

*Strange  
explanation.*

One afternoon in February, a Nazi plane landed, without warning, at Fornebø airport just outside Oslo. Without a by-your-leave, thirty passengers were disgorged who scattered over the field with cameras, taking photographs, making sights and memoranda. Asked for papers, the Pilot officer showed a permit to investigate the *Altmark*, some forty miles away. The effrontery of the incident was a warning, but the quite sincere, pro-British official of the company operating the field, when questioned by the British Legation, explained that the Germans were planning a commercial airline between Germany and Norway. One of his juniors, however, with no taste for easy explanations, was dining with me that night; he returned again and again to the subject

with foreboding. But not even he had a glimmering that within two months Nazi planes would be landing troops from Denmark on Fornebø Field as regular as any ferry service. Squadrons of ten planes, each with mechanical precision depositing fifty soldiers with equipment, and returning to Silt for more. But I go too fast. *Events no one foresaw.*

On Friday, April 5th, all the officials of the Norwegian Foreign Office received invitations to see a peace film. The engraved cards from the German Minister indicated an occasion. They read "full dress and orders to be worn." The invitation arriving at such short notice, the Foreign Minister and the more important personages were previously engaged. But all the Bureau chiefs and a number of minor officials, in white ties and with mild curiosity, accepted and went. What they were treated to was a film, terrifyingly documentary and horrible, of the bombing of Warsaw. The German Minister explained—the entertainment did require explanation—that the pictures were peace propaganda, because they proved to all observers what happened to any country which resisted Nazi attempts to "defend it from England." The audience was shocked, and—this seems strange now—still puzzled, as to why the film had been shown to *them*, to Norwegians. *A German "peace film."*

The Foreign Minister and Mrs. Koht did not see the film. They were, as a matter of fact, dining with me. My party was for the new French Minister and Countess de Dampierre. The Foreign Minister, who arrived half *A diplomatic dinner party.*



*Norway's  
Foreign  
Minister  
troubled.*

an hour late, explained briefly that the day had been the most nerve-racking of his official life. I had had an interview with him at midday, and he went on to say that after I had left, the German Minister, Dr. Brauer, had visited him, and that the British and French Ministers had occupied him until half past seven. His face was drawn, and I sensed that the day really had been more tense than usual, but for months he had been between these fires, and the evening passed without anyone's awareness that we were on the eve of tragedy.

*Invitation  
to dinner  
at the  
German  
Legation.*

Early the next day, Dr. Brauer called me personally on the telephone. Would I dine at his Legation on April 19th? He was inviting also the Foreign Minister and Frau Koht, and the Danish and Swedish Ministers and their wives. He threw in cosily that it would be his own wife's first appearance after her return from the hospital, and would I excuse her if she retired at half past ten. As I think I have said, dinner parties in Oslo used to run on well past midnight in candid talk, sometimes with dancing, and often with cards. Frau Brauer was a great favorite with all the corps. A small, pretty woman, looking far more French than German, she had just borne her first child, after twelve years of marriage. The Minister went on: "The baby's name is to be Dorothea. Do you know what that means?"

"The gift of God."

"Right," he said, perhaps a little surprised at my know-

ing, "and that is why we call her that." I could not help smiling at my end of the phone.

The next day, Sunday the 7th, came the formal engraved invitation for the dinner with "*pour memoire*" written in the corner. By April 19th no "*Aide-memoire*" was necessary to remind me of Nazi notions of hospital- *The real*  
ity. For days and days, by then, I had been dodging their *Nazi*  
bombs on the outskirts of a good many towns, and find- *hospitality.*  
ing it hard to get shelter anywhere.

On the morning of April 8th, news came to the Legation that the British had laid bombs at Narvik, the harbor *British*  
fjord in the north, terminal of the railroad from Sweden *mine-laying*  
and port for the great iron mines of the north. In the course of the morning, a telephone call from the United States Legation in Copenhagen apprised us briefly that a large body of the German fleet was passing through the Great Belt. The call did not tell us how many ships. "A great many. Details will be cabled you." I put on my hat and set off as fast as I could for the Foreign Office. The Minister was at a meeting of the Storting, the Norwegian parliament. I gave my news to Mr. Bull, whose job is like that of our Undersecretary of State. Neither he nor his Government had any definite information to give me as *No fear of*  
to the Nazi fleet's destination. As I look back, my im- *Nazi attack*  
pression still is that neither Mr. Bull nor his associates considered the likelihood that the destination was the Oslo Fjord, and I cannot recall a single diplomat that day who even suggested that we ourselves were in the

*British  
ships all  
withdrawn.*

line of the coming battle. Most people surmised that the fleet was on its way to engage the Royal Navy in the North Sea. The British must have based all their plans upon this one expectation of a North Sea battle, because certainly—notwithstanding that they had promised to patrol the mines which they had laid—when the Nazi attack came, all British ships were discovered to have been withdrawn from Norwegian waters.

Just before dinner, a coded cable from Copenhagen came to me, giving the number and classes of the ships which had passed through the Kattegat, and reported great activity all day at Silt, the air field on the coast of Denmark. The message closed “we fear retaliations.” This we construed to mean retaliations against England for her mine-laying.

*Air raid  
alarm  
not taken  
seriously.*

At half past eleven that night, Oslo sounded the air raid alarm, but as the street lights were not turned off for some time, we, at the Legation, did not take it very seriously. Members of the staff telephoned in to ask if I thought they ought to come round and take shelter in our new bomb-proof room in the basement. It had been finished only three days before and we had joked about it, saying, “Now the Finnish War is over, our bomb shelter is finished, too.” I told everyone cheerfully that I was going to bed and advised them to do the same. Presently, both house and street lights went off, and we ran around in the dark in search of matches and candles. And still we thought it was just another of the occasional

practice air raid alarms we had been having all through the winter. Only, never before had the city authorities failed to give warning of one beforehand. Ray and Margaret Cox had been dining with an official of the Foreign Office and had kindly stopped in to ask if I were frightened. What did I think it was, they asked. It seems incredible now that not one of us connected that alarm with the proximity of the German ships; the idea of their attacking Norway still seemed so remote a possibility. I have since been told that the Crown Princess, with a woman's intuition, had sensed danger, and had commenced packing Monday afternoon.

*Crown  
Princess  
senses  
danger.*

After the "all clear" the Coxes went home, and everyone went to bed. It has never been explained why that alarm was given. Perhaps it was that some reconnoitering planes had been sighted.

At 3:00 A.M. the telephone made me jump out of bed. Sir Cecil Dormer asked me if I would take over the British Legation, as German warships were coming up the fjord. Generally, such a thing is not done without permission from Washington. In the emergency it was impossible to delay. The answer was "yes."

*German  
warships  
approach.*

I ran downstairs, and put in a call for Dr. Koht at the Foreign Office. He told me ships were approaching, but that the weather was so thick they had not yet been positively identified as German, although, "of course," he added, "we are sure that they are." Twenty minutes later, he telephoned to say there was now no doubt of

*Foreign  
Minister  
evasive.*

their nationality. He would let me know, shortly, the plans of his Government.

*Message  
routed  
through  
Stockholm.*

In the meantime, Ray Cox and one of the clerks had arrived, and we got off a cable to the Department of State. It was not possible to reach Washington by telephone. We suddenly became aware that the voice of the Oslo telegraph operator, who was saying that perhaps our message would not get through to Washington, was an unfamiliar one. More German, we thought, than Norwegian accent. We put in a call for the United States Legation at Stockholm. Minister Sterling, we knew, might not be there, as he was en route from a short, much-needed rest, after his strenuous duties throughout the Finnish campaign. Mr. Greene, Secretary of Legation, answered the phone, and agreed to forward our message to Washington both by telephone, if possible, and by cable, I could hear him catch his breath, and his tone change, as I dictated our cable and he caught the full significance of the news.

*Allied  
Ministers  
hasten  
departure.*

Within the hour, the French Minister made the same request of me as Sir Cecil Dormer, to take over his Legation. We called our consuls and they hurried over, leaving their families to dress, pack and follow them. Commercial Secretary Klath went to seal the French Legation and Vice Consul Kelsey went to the British, and got from the Ministers their requests to me in writing. Again I spoke to Dr. Koht. He said the Court and Government were going by special train to Hamar, and

he hoped that I would accompany them. When, at twenty minutes to seven, the Foreign Office called to say that the train to evacuate us would leave at seven o'clock, twenty minutes was too little time and I could not be ready. Wives and children of the Staff had been arriving so thick and fast that between five and six o'clock twenty-five of us had sat down to breakfast. We made several trips to the bomb-proof room before, during, and after the meal. German bombers whirled overhead, circling the city. We could hear the little Norwegian planes pursuing and the fire of anti-aircraft guns.

*German  
bombers  
overhead.*

It was decided that Margaret Cox, her boy Alan, and the Consulate wives and children should go to Sjusjon, one of the mountain resorts above Lillehammer. My own instructions being to "follow the Government," I would stop off at Hamar, some few miles nearer Oslo, and join them. It had been planned that, in case of a Russian invasion during the Finnish War, evacuation should take place in the direction of Lillehammer, through the Gudbrandsdal Valley. As it turned out that was quite the worst place we could have gone. But who could foresee that?

*Ministry  
and  
Consulate  
evacuated.*

By 9:45 we were all in our cars—I was proud of the speed and calm of our mobilization—and joined the procession that was steadily streaming out of town. In my trusty Ford were more suitcases than seemed possible. The chauffeur, one of the clerks, a maid, a typewriter, me, and the code book. As we approached Lilleström,

*Speedy  
and calm  
departure.*

*Narrow  
escapes.*

on the outskirts of Oslo, we could hear the snap, snap, snap of machine-guns overhead. A small Norwegian plane was giving chase to a Heinkel—we craned to watch. Drivers pressed forward not exactly frightened, but we all breathed easier, as we moved out from under those dark outlines in the sky. Only one car, the third ahead of us, was struck by falling shrapnel. No one was hurt, but dents and scraped paint were sharp reminders of how narrow the escapes were.

As I had been in bed only one hour and had had breakfast between five and six, I was beginning to feel the strain. Though all around us was one of those lovely northern spring days which made you feel as if the whole world were young again, I was aware only of the contrasts between the earth itself and the ill will and crimes among men.

*Kjeller  
airfield  
bombed.*

As we passed Kjeller airfield—the field from which I had made my flight over the glacier that first summer in Oslo—we saw that it had been bombed and that the hangars were still burning. Stunned and silent groups stood on the street corners of the little settlements we passed, dumb before the rush of events. Men in uniforms and grim lads with muskets, alone, or in small companies of a dozen or so, hurried past us, apparently on their way to answer the order for general mobilization.

*Oslo  
occupied  
by Nazis.*

Behind us the Nazis had occupied Oslo. From all reports they had simply moved in. Someone, describing it, kept repeating, "They let the Nazis in with smiles on

their faces, frozen smiles." There has been a great deal written about how the easy occupation of Oslo was due to treachery. What we have come to call the "fifth column" had indeed been busy; the Nazis were indefatigable in an infinite variety of ways, from defamation of the British, to a thousand minor tricks and courtesies of propaganda, in an effort to make the Norwegians German-friendly. There was trade acceleration. There was interchange of tourists and students. But not a bit of real evidence has been adduced, aside from Major *Major Quisling's treason.* Quisling and his small group who moved swiftly to obtain possession of telephones, telegraph and radio, that the Norwegian people, for a single moment, welcomed the invasion. Everything in the Norwegian Democracy was opposed to Nazi brutality. If the "frozen smile" was upon the faces of any of those who saw the German troops march in, it was from shock at the Gorgon's visit. As for Quisling, many people had for a long time regarded him as of unsound mind.

The seizure by him and the Germans of the instruments of communication spread havoc. Orders would come through to officers of the Army and Navy to report ready for battle, only to be followed by orders, "Offer no resistance to the Germans." It was a dark day in history. Only the invasion seemed to go as planned.

The unexpected sinking of the battleship *Blücher* and disabling of the *Gneisenau* in Oslo Fjord were the Germans' only major set-back and delayed their plans by *Blücher sunk and Gneisenau disabled.*



*Oslo  
taken by  
air attack.*

a full eight hours. If all had gone as schemed, the King himself and the Government would have been surrounded before there was time to evacuate. Minister Brauer paced the quay expectantly. But Oslo was not taken from the sea. The new warfare from the air made the coup.

*How the  
warship  
Blücher  
was sunk.*

A single man, a retired naval officer (I wish I knew his name), is hero of the strange delay. To him, in his house on the mainland near the island on which stands Fort Oscarborg, came news that German ships were bearing up the fjord. He came to the shore. No sign of life in the fort; no sign yet of the oncoming ships. He untied his boat and rowed himself across to where the fort's two old guns, affectionately treated as museum pieces, turned their muzzles to the sea. One of them, because it had fallen into the water when being hoisted into place back in 1900, had long been known as "Moses," its fellow, therefore, as Aaron. Inside the fort he rallied the younger officers, gave the orders to them to man the guns. As the *Blücher* came leisurely within five hundred feet of the fort, old Moses belched, carrying the ship's bridge and top hamper clean off into the water, and with it, the General in Command of the expeditionary force, the Admiral and high officers of the Gestapo who stood beside them. Then Aaron followed suit. The *Blücher* and her crew, the German financial experts, laden with plans for a new fiscal system for the country, and Heaven knows what other papers, went down in Oslo Fjord.

*Many  
Germans  
drown.*

The Germans in that day of their "famous victory" must have lost upwards of twenty thousand men by drowning alone. The British official communiqué for April 10th speaks briefly of troop ships sunk in the North Sea.

The last official version given me is that "the old fort at Oscarborg was really manned and had its commanding officers on the spot. Whether the old guns or the more modern guns did sink the *Blücher* is not known." *Already a legend.* But the first story has already settled into legend. It is the one that people tell, and the one I like to believe. Anyway, after the sinking of the *Blücher*, Nazi officers went to Horten and demanded sketches of her.

The Norwegian officers answered, "We never have had any."

"But you must have, because the *Blücher* had only one weak spot, and you hit her there."

Meanwhile, the little Norwegian gunboat, the *Olaf Tryggvason*, who had convoyed the *City of Flint* in November, was actively defending the naval station of Horten, where she had been reconditioning. She crippled the *Emden* so badly that she was put out of action. Now the *Olaf Tryggvason* serves with the Royal Navy in the North Sea. The German cruiser, *Karlsruhe*, was also sunk outside Kristiansand the same day. When the war is over, there will be many gallant stories to be told of the tiny, outmoded Norwegian Navy manned by seamen second to none; and of the coastal forts, only one of which fell without resistance. *Feats of Norway's small navy.*

*Rallying  
of the  
peasant  
youth.*

That the citizens of Oslo were petrified in those first days is explicable. The blitzkrieg seemed to be over before it had begun. But there was no such lethargy amongst the country people, far from airports, to whom the rumor came of menace. The peasant youth rallied. They literally sprang to arms, with hunters' guns and tools, faithful to their Norwegian colors. But that is not the right way to express it; they opposed the danger, willing to lay down their lives, but the suddenness of the attack and the breakdown of communications made concerted action in the beginning impossible. Rumors flew about that the British were coming to help.

*Elverum  
suggested  
for a haven.*

It took us six hours that lovely April day to make our steady but uncertain way in our heavily laden car to Hamar. The roads were not only crowded, but everybody we met stricken—not afraid, but uncertain as to direction. Nobody could tell what was happening, and when we reached Hamar we found not only every hotel, but every inch of space, under every roof, “full up” with members of the Government, so we trekked on to Hösbjør. Here we found that the family of the Crown Prince and members of the French and British Legations had preceded us. While we were dining, Sir Cecil Dormer came to my table and whispered that he had just heard that the Germans in their armored cars were expected at Hamar in half an hour. The French and he were going on to Elverum, and didn't I think I had better join them. I inquired where the Government in-



BRITISH AND FRENCH TROOPS QUEUE UP ON THE BEACHES OF DUNKIRK TO AWAIT RESCUE. IN THE EPIC EVACUATION, MAY 30 TO JUNE 4, 1940, SOME 335,000 TRAPPED MEN WERE TRANSPORTED SAFELY TO ENGLAND (Page 63)

FROM A BRITISH COMBINE PHOTOGRAPH



tended to go, and when I heard they were leaving Hamar at once for Elverum, I, of course, agreed to follow. Just before we had entered the dining room, a member of the Foreign Office, standing outside the hotel in Hösbjör, had looked at the tinderbox of a building and shaking his head at me said, "Yes, the enemy must know the British and French are here. They will surely bomb this place tonight. It will take ten minutes, no more, for it to be destroyed completely." Recalling this cheerful bit of information, it was a pleasure for me, though I was tired, to move along to Elverum. *Bombing expected.*

It was now dark and the scene in front of the inn was a shambles. Everyone, and that includes most of the British Legation staff which, swelling and swelling after Great Britain declared war, was now numbered at forty, scurried to salvage what little luggage they had brought. People were politely but firmly shoved aside; suitcases grazed shins on the crowded staircases. And I think we all must have looked like intent runners in a foot race, stretching for the tape. I don't in the least intend to imply that there was any panic, just that our manners were a little grim. The French, with great agility, were well on their way ahead of all of us. In the blackout, it was risky to leave one's bags and boxes and go back for more, and all the motors looked alike. I carried the code book which I had been warned not to let out of my sight day or night; and someone lugged a typewriter, which in the end we never used. Without analyzing the situa- *No panic but a little grimness of manner.*

*Expectations that were disappointed.*

tion, I think we all, subconsciously, expected to settle down comfortably, as the Belgian Government had done in 1914, and send out "Dispatches as usual." This was 1940, not 1914. We were not yet ready to imagine that King and Government would be hunted like wild animals. With me was one of the clerks from the Legation to do the typing and coding, and my maid who, being a British subject, would be made prisoner, I had feared, if left behind in Oslo. In the confusion of getting away from Hösbyr, the clerk lost her small trunk and all the new wardrobe she had acquired six weeks before, when she was evacuated from Helsinki. And my maid also had lost a bag.

*Losses en route.*

But there was no way of turning back to look for missing things, if we were to hold our place in the long creeping line of cars winding their way through the night, from the Gudbrandsdal to the Osterdal Valley. Outside Elverum, we came on a squad of ghostly soldiers, in white suits, familiar to us from the Finnish War, preparing to erect a barricade as soon as the King and the Royal Family passed by. They did their work so well that when the pursuers came along, two hundred of the Germans were killed, and their quarry got away. When the news came through that the Nazi air attaché was among the fatalities, it was the only death that afforded any satisfaction. He had been at the German Legation in Oslo, had accepted hospitality and courtesies from the Norwegians, and now he had led the attempt to capture

*A barricade to protect the King.*

or kill their King. At Elverum we drew up with a sigh before a commodious hotel. The proprietress shook her head. "There is not one bed in Elverum tonight." Darkness was black over the town except for the schoolhouse, which was a blaze of light. There the Störting was sitting, a veritable beacon for the Germans, but proof enough of the naïveté of the Government, neutral until then, and unused to stratagems. A hundred years of peace had bred in them kindness, hospitality, and decency. One does not learn suspicion in a day, nor how to meet the wiles of war. As we stood in the April night wondering which direction to take, His Majesty and the Royal Family passed by in motors, bound, we later learned, for Trysil, some seventy miles further north. Meantime, someone directed both the British delegation and our car to a farm on the fringe of Elverum, and towards this our snake-like cavalcade proceeded. They gave us rooms in a primitive guest house. We were busy allotting the sleeping quarters when the British Minister received word from the police that the Germans had left Hamar on their way to Elverum. We could not know then how effective the barricade the soldiers in white had been building would prove.

*Incomplete  
blackout.*

*Wiles of war  
not grasped  
at once.*

At once, Sir Cecil and Lady Mary and their numerous retinue gathered their luggage to go further afield. As a neutral, I felt it unnecessary for me to continue the trek. The fact that I had had only one hour's sleep in the last thirty-eight may have had something to do with my



decision. They all went. Suddenly we found ourselves alone in the house. Then every sound made us jump. Suppose the Germans had traced the British that far and entered to catechize us as to their whereabouts! Fortunately, the barricade had held. We slept until 5:30 A.M. Then the first contingent of German planes came roaring toward Elverum. From then on, there was little cessation for them or us. The war had caught up with us.

The telephone wires in some directions were still unbroken. I was able shortly, that afternoon, to talk to Dr. Koht in Elverum, and to our Minister in Stockholm. It was impossible to connect with Oslo. An air alarm in the evening sent us all scurrying to the wood near the house. The snow lay still, white and deep. Some carried their bags with them, trying to use them to rest on. A crowd of business people had arrived from Oslo that morning, and the "guest house" was a hive of refugees. The lady who owned the farm said firmly that we would have to feed ourselves. So we bought eggs, sardines and biscuits at a little country store. There was a stove of sorts in the basement of our cottage but, as twenty-seven people were trying to use it at the same time, we were lucky to find space to boil an egg apiece.

Next day the Foreign Minister communicated the news that the Government was moving into Nybergsund. There they might remain for two days before going westward, meaning, I supposed, the Gudbrandsdal Val-

*War  
reaches  
Elverum.*

*Troubles  
of the road  
in war.*

*Movements  
of the  
Norwegian  
Govern-  
ment.*

ley. He asked if I would come over to see him as soon as possible.

I quickly got my car, but when we tried to take the road, we suddenly realized we were in a trap. Every available road, even the short one into Elverum, was barricaded; and how well! Wooden ship masts were laid criss-cross on each other to a height of eight or ten feet, and fifteen to twenty feet in depth, with barbed wire threaded through them. At one of these barriers a young Captain came forward and told us to go back at once, as ten Nazi armored cars were due at any moment. I gazed in dismay at the twenty-five young country boys with their rifles, and two Red Cross nurses and a doctor, in a sedan, standing quietly by.

*Barricades  
on all roads.*

"How can such a mere handful of you," I asked, "hope to defend yourselves against so many Germans?" He took me by the arm. He led me to the edge of the road and said "Look." There, on the thick wooded hillside, completely concealed from anyone approaching the barrier, I could spot scattered machine-gun nests. By such guerilla warfare alone was the attack made so costly that twenty Germans were killed to every one Norwegian. The Germans getting out of their cars would walk openly up a road from the woods, and a fusillade would come that mowed them down like ninepins. I often wonder what did happen that particular afternoon, and if the charming young Captain is alive today.

*Guerilla  
warfare  
costly to  
Germans.*

*No time for  
chivalry.*

There is a code in the Norwegian countryside, that no man may make a blind attack on another, no matter what the feud. The enemy must have warning first. A Captain later told me the story of how his company was drawn up in ambush, ready to open fire on an approaching Nazi detachment, when he heard one of the boys say to the others, "It isn't fair to take them by surprise, we must fire into the air first, then they'll know that we are here." The Captain shivered as he told me the story. "I stopped them just in time, and explained later that in war one dare give no quarter."

*Soldiers  
captured.*

Someone else told me that on the first day he had passed two hundred Germans going north and presently he met sixty Norwegian soldiers going south. He stopped to tell them that they were marching into a trap, and must turn back. They assured him that it would be all right, as they were only going to the mobilization post. "We will talk to the Germans and explain everything," they assured him, "and it will be all right." Stupid, of course, and they were all made prisoners as soon as they were met and were less than no use in the defense. These incidents are trivial, but they show how honest, how fair, and how unfitted for a war with Nazis Norway was. Yet after the first shock, though weapons and training were inadequate, and officers few and unprepared for the new tactics, the young Norwegians took their places in the lines and stood firm.

The story of the bus drivers has been told before in America. It has become a modern saga. A group of bus drivers was under orders to convey a detachment of German reinforcements to a given point. They left notes for their families. "If we are forced to make this trip," they wrote, "you will not see us again ever." So much they told and no more. There were three bus loads. They came to a steep hill with a sharp turning at the bottom. Instead of putting on the brakes, prepared to turn gently, as they had so many times before with home folk on the journey, they drove with brakes off headlong into a deep ravine. Three Norwegian patriots and a hundred Germans fought no more.

*Saga of the  
bus drivers.*

In the wood where we sought shelter from bombs, on the night of the twelfth, there were strange noises. It seems that the Cadet school at Elverum had turned their horses loose to save them from confiscation, but the next day, being observed, the beasts were machine-gunned from the air. I think of those horses still, comrades in our misery, more frightened perhaps than we at the Heinkels overhead.

*Horses  
gunned  
from  
the air.*

At half past three on Friday I was in touch with Dr. Koht again. This time at Nybergsund. A half hour later, the hotel was bombed and the King forced to run to the woods for his life. Dr. Koht still said he thought it a good idea if I could be nearer the Government, and I determined to make one more effort to reach them. There is a certain sort of satisfaction in moving, and it

*King  
forced  
to flee.*

*Elverum  
burned.*

seemed no more risky than halting for cover, so wayward and unpredictable was the bombing. All day planes had been flying low over our heads in the direction of Elverum. Suddenly the dropping of incendiary bombs was observed, and we could see that the whole town was being enveloped in a thick cloud of yellow smoke. Wicked tongues of fire presently began to lick through the poisonous smoke screen. Someone tried to telephone. The wires were cut. The road north now being absolutely closed, I decided to experiment. I would try going south and detouring. The main road was closed, of course; the snow was impassable on the ways through the forest. Still, there must be some way. Eventually we gave up in despair. Every road was blocked either by stockades or snowdrifts.

*Every road  
blocked.*

*A farm-  
house  
refuge.*

We caught sight of a comfortable-looking farmhouse and climbed out to knock. The sweet-faced mistress of the place opened the door and welcomed us. But there was no bedroom for us—besides her own eight children, she was already sheltering several mothers from Oslo and their babies; but the parlor was ours if we wanted to have it. We could still hear the rumble of planes flying low, but they were not overhead. We all relaxed as if we had suddenly come home, so simply did Mrs. Peterson offer us hospitality. Late as it was, and with only a little running water in her kitchen, she made us coffee and gave us cakes and boiled eggs. I shall never forget that Norwegian country parlor, the family portraits that

looked down from the wall, telling I know not what story of better days; the linen sheets and pillowslips with their handmade lace insertion, the many little touches of grace in our welcome. Our beds were narrow sofas, and there were no blankets to spare from the babies; but we slept in our clothes gratefully, while the farmer and the chauffeur discussed roads to take us on our way. The farmer did his best, and before dawn went scouting on his skis through the neighboring forests, but snowdrifts barred every lead. He could, he finally offered, take us beyond the forest in a sledge, if we cared to leave the car behind until the war was over. "But on the other side of the forest, what shall we do without the car?" That was something he could not answer. He went off again in search of a clever neighbor. How to get the car over the forest? The neighbor had an idea. They would both try to get us by the barrier on the road to Elverum. The friend, arriving on his bicycle, took charge. If we hurried, between air raids, the soldiers at the barrier would devise us something. The sink being in use, I was at the pump in the yard, breaking icicles for my tooth brush, when I heard the news.

*A night in  
a country  
parlor.*

*A quick  
departure.*

I called out that we would come at once. Only the clerk saw no hope and crumpled up. She clung to the idea that we ought to get a safe conduct from the Germans. Out of patience, I told her to choose quickly, to come along, or to stay on the farm until the war was over. I confess that I, too, felt that the Germans flying

*Germans  
hunt down  
the King.*

at low altitude were almost in my hair. The deafening roar was terrifying. But so intent were they on laying waste any town in which the King might be, that it was not until several days later that their shrapnel began to rake the roads.

*Help at a  
barricade.*

All in the car at last, with the farmer and his friend clinging to the runningboards, we sped down the road to the barricades. The soldiers saluted warmly and set to work at once. I felt like something from an old picture-book of rescues in the Alps. The blockade and barbed wire ran from the steep hillside on the right to the precipitous bank of the River Glomma. Each of us was passed from one soldier to another and squeezed round the end of the entanglement; while the car itself, held in check by six or eight of the soldiers, was let slide slowly down onto the ice of the river's rim. "Lucky for you," spoke up someone, "there's no sun today to melt the ice on the river edge." Several more men went down with poles, "to fish out the car if it breaks through." Five hundred yards further upstream the men found an incline, steep but not impassable, and shouldered the car up onto the dirt road again. There was no way at all to thank our rescuers for letting us out of bondage. We could only give them change to get cigarettes. And this we do: we remember them with gratitude.

*Elverum  
a mass  
of debris.*

Where Elverum had been, but a few hours before, only the church and the Red Cross hospital were still standing. In the hospital were many wounded Germans. We

drove down the principal street which was littered with débris, past the wreck of the very hotel that had been "too full" to receive us less than a week before. The ashes were still steaming. Hardly a house but what had been razed to within four feet of the ground. There had been over three hundred casualties. The car stopped and we gazed around. There is something ghastly in a ruined city. And we who looked about us knew how pleasant and how vital the human life of Elverum had been.

We got out of the car while the chauffeur took off the chains, which had been necessary for the river escapade, and as we stood there, Captain Ibsen, grandson of the great poet, came up to speak to me. He wanted to know if I could get a message through to our Legation and through them to his wife, Lillybel, one of the best known Norwegian actresses. He wanted her to know where he was and that he was still alive. This I was afraid would not be possible until I crossed the border into Sweden. But I would try. Everyone along the way everywhere bombarded me with similar requests. The invasion had been so sudden, the mobilization so instantaneous, that none of the men knew where their families were and could only surmise what was happening in Oslo.

*A message  
to carry.*

Captain Ibsen gave me warning that the long bridge this side of Nybergsund might be destroyed; he had heard bombings from that direction shortly before. Nothing for us to do, though, but to drive on, a long, cold drive, over the mountain pass with only one stop,

*No way for  
men to get  
family  
news.*



for gas. We had biscuits and chocolate for lunch, and felt lucky to have them! Bus loads of soldiers passed us from time to time, moving probably to the Gudbrandsdal Valley, where we thought fierce fighting was now going on.

*Smoking  
ruins of  
a town.*

As we approached the bridge, we slowed up. We found it intact, but there were very large craters at either end, showing that bombs had been dropped but missed their objective. On the far side, where Nybergsund should have been, there was nothing to be seen but smoking ruins. Not a wall was standing. Wiped out! The only two men left in the whole place were talking disconsolately together in the middle of the road. In spite of the American flag on the roof of our car, they were suspicious of us and avoided telling us anything. No, they "knew nothing" of the whereabouts of the Government, and the only information we could get from them was that there had been only one casualty. A little girl of four had been killed as she ran across the street.

*People  
suspicious.*

Afterwards, I wondered if I had shown them my passport whether they would have been less reticent. They seemed so stunned.

After considering the matter from every point of view, I came to the conclusion that there was no use searching any further at that time. The members of the Government might have taken any one of three roads. Also, as it had not been possible for several days to communicate with our Minister in Stockholm, it seemed wise to go to

*Efforts to  
reach the  
Government  
fail.*

the border where I could telephone him that we were still alive. One road, we were told, was not yet free enough of snow, so we took the other that skirted the River Glomma.

It was comforting to settle back in the car on a route that had so far escaped the Nazi bombers. We drove east and south through the Glomma Valley, the sun at times so bright and the sky so blue, the snow so quiet, that it seemed as if good dreams followed bad dreams. Nothing was real. For all the sun, it was freezing cold, and the way was long, until we reached the border. The young man at the Customs was not one to be lightly taken in. A woman the American Minister to Norway?—No, Madam, he would telephone to Headquarters before he let us pass. My English maid stood nervously about, uncertain what she, too, would have to face, but when my unlikely story had been verified, and I was welcomed across the border and had explained that she was one of my household, all went smoothly, and no one ever asked to look at her passport. Just as well because I had hidden all her papers in the front of my dress when there seemed a chance of encountering German raiders. We had made great plans, too, as to what to do with the code book, far too large for eating, too bulky to be tossed unnoticed into the snow, not easily burnt in a hurry.

*Doubts of  
a customs  
officer.*

*The code  
book a  
problem.*

Swedish troops, plenty of them, apparently well organized and disciplined, manned the border. We saw artillery and armored cars on either side of the road, and

the dream of the afternoon was gone. War, as yet only potential war, hemmed us round again. My business was clear—to get in touch with Freddie Sterling and be guided by whatever information was (or so I hoped) pouring into Sweden, and my orders from Washington. The ABC of blitzkrieg is the seizure of communications. No one who has not been through it can readily understand what that first week of the Norwegian War was like. And everywhere these blows effect the same phenomena. The whole outside world is shut out, orders are interrupted, falsified, and every hysterical personality tends to float rumors, give frightened orders and multiply the fog. I understand what happened in June in France the better for the period of running and waiting in Norway. For a week, from hour to hour, we did not know what was happening. Everybody I came in contact with behaved well. A certain stolidity in the Norwegian character saved us from panic, but could not prevent a general bewilderment.

I think I never had a clear picture of the many directions from which the attack came until long afterward I saw some graphic maps in the German propaganda magazine (printed in English for distribution in Africa and Latin America) showing how planned and how complete the attack from the air and all along the long coast had been.

My own duty was simply to collect all possible information, whether I could collate what I saw and heard or

*Communi-  
cations  
seized.*

*Attack  
long and  
completely  
planned.*

A.D. 1940

## THE NAZIS COME

not, to find the Norwegian Government, and to keep in touch with Stockholm.

The Customs officer waved us through, and we were directed to a small pension at Holjes. *End of the journey.*



## BATTLE TO THE SEA

(A.D. 1940)

DIGGING a tunnel under the English Channel from Calais to Dover (22 mi.) is a project discussed since Napoleon's time, repeatedly vetoed by Britain lest it bring an invader from the Continent. Last week both Britain and France might have devoutly thanked God for such a passageway had it been bombproof. After the abrupt surrender of Belgian King Leopold, some 600,000 survivors of the northern Allied armies were locked in a triangular trap between the Lys River, the Artois Hills and the North Sea. As 800,000 Germans on the ground and thousands more in the sky relentlessly pressed the trap's jaws together, Allied Generalissimo Maxime Weygand with his Armies south of the Somme could do nothing but let General Georges Maurice Jean Blanchard, commanding the condemned forces, fight his way unaided to the tideline, where rescue ships waited.

*Leopold's  
abrupt  
surrender.*

The result was a scene of carnage and valor more concentrated in space and time than anything modern history ever saw: men by hundreds of thousands retreating

Courtesy *Time Magazine*, © Copyright, Time, Inc., 1940.

*True figures  
not revealed.*

in a desperation to live, other men by hundreds of thousands pressing forward in a desperation to surround, slaughter, annihilate. To preserve morale on both sides, and because the arithmetic was next to impossible, true figures on the loss of life were glossed over officially. But it could be guessed that not less than 500,000 men were killed, wounded or captured in seven days on a patch of earth about the size of an average U. S. county (970 sq. mi.). Additional casualties among the millions of civilian refugees were incalculable. At least 1,000 airplanes were shot down. Every town and hamlet from Boulogne to Cambrai and north to Bruges was shattered by explosives or leveled by fire. Virtually every acre was pocked by missiles, stained with blood, strewn or piled with corpses.

*British  
withdrawal  
forced.*

Perhaps King Leopold surrendered when and as he did because he knew or suspected that the British were about to withdraw, as they had from Norway, with their host's Army covering their rear. Certainly his surrender forced their immediate withdrawal. But it was an orderly withdrawal with the wounded sent first; a courageous, masterful rear-guard action conducted by General Lord ("Tiger") Gort in full cooperation with the French.

When the Belgian surrender fatally exposed their left flank, the British, who were falling back from Arras-Cambrai to Lille, crossed the Lys River to Ypres and formed the east wall of an escape corridor along the Yser Canal to the sea. The flower of their Army, the proud

Guards regiments—Coldstream, Grenadier, Welsh, Irish, Scots—had to let their line fold back from the southeast while artillery and remaining armored units covered the rear.

At the bottom of the fatal pocket, below Lille, were what was left of France's mechanized divisions, under General René Jacques Adolphe Prioux, 61. The French tanks fought in hollow squares like Xenophon's Greeks, giving ground only when holes in their ranks forced retreat to close them. Time and again they drove the Germans off the hills around Cassel and Poperinghe. The Germans thrust through between Cassel and Ypres, cutting the Allied pocket in half, but two of General Prioux's divisions smashed through, continued up the escape corridor's western wall toward the sea. The Germans reported capturing General Prioux and staff, who stayed behind till the end. German tanks, infantry, artillery crunched ever closer, climbing over heaps of their own dead, toward the port of Dunkirk. Just before getting there, the retreating Allies opened canal floodgates to the east and west. But German aircraft continued to lay down bombs and machine-gun slugs in devastating sheets.

*Remainder  
of French  
mechanized  
forces.*

*Germans  
capture  
General  
Prioux.*

Along the French coast lay a heterogeneous Allied armada under Vice Admiral Jean Marie Charles Abrial, commanding the Dunkirk naval area. French and British warships lay off shore, protecting themselves overhead by flaming curtains of anti-aircraft fire, covering the land

*Allied  
armada  
along  
French  
coast.*



*Boulogne  
and Calais  
encircled.*

*Three  
British  
destroyers  
sunk.*

*Spectacle at  
Dunkirk.*

troops' retreat with a flowing dome of projectiles from their heavy guns. Ashore they sent seamen, marines and engineers to construct breastworks and gun emplacements for their soldiers to fall back on, and demolition parties to blow up wharfage and fuel stores. Because the ports of Boulogne and Calais were tightly encircled by German forces, the main rescue embarkation was prepared at Dunkirk, but furious action ensued at Boulogne—point-blank fire between tanks and destroyers—and at Calais, where a British garrison held out stoutly in the citadel although water, food and ammunition had to be parachuted to them by the R. A. F. At sea, three British destroyers went down under dive-bombings and torpedoes—the *Wakeful*, *Grafton* and *Grenada*. The Germans claimed sinking the battleship *Nelson* (the British scoffed).

At Dunkirk, the spectacle was prodigious, appalling. Inside the blazing line of warships lay transports of every description, from big merchantment and passenger steamers to channel ferries, private yachts, fishing smacks, tug-drawn coal barges. Over these craft wheeled swarms of German high bombers, down at them plunged wedge after wedge of dive bombers. Day and night the sea air was filled with screaming gulls and bats of death, including two whole German air corps commanded by Air Generals Grauert and von Richthofen (Wolfram, 44, cousin of World War I's "Red Knight," the late Baron Manfred).

Dunkirk is a man-made harbor cut into a sandy tidal plain, with a mole sticking out to protect a channel leading into a network of seven ship basins. When German bombs blew up the locks which held water in the basins at low tide, Dunkirk's inner loading piers became a muddy, smouldering shambles. Embarkation had to be carried out by shallow-draft ships at the mole or by whale boats, dories, rafts and wreckage bobbing in the surf along the flat shelf of seashore. A calm sea and bright sunshine made the rescue ships perfect bomb targets for two days, and dozens of them were smashed, burned, sunk. Britain admitted loss of 30 warships. Then a blessed fog rolled in for 48 hours, saving countless lives.

*Difficulties  
of embar-  
cation.*

When the soldiers reached the sea they hid (one of them said later) "like rabbits among the dunes." They were in smoke-grimed rags and tatters, many shoeless, some still lugging packs and rifles, others empty-handed in their underclothes after swimming canals. They were too din-deafened and inured to horror to be fully sensible of the incredible cataclysm that still raged over them. Some clutched souvenirs—a blood soaked doll for a small daughter; a machine gun snatched from a crashed German plane with which one squad of men kept on shooting at new attackers and got two. Ambulatory wounded joined the rest in staggering into the oil-scummed waves, floundering out to reach the rescue craft amid spuming bomb-geysers. Day and night overhead the restless roar of air battle continued as depleted advance units of the

*Grim  
condition  
of the  
soldiers.*

Royal Air Force were reinforced by squadrons of the Coastal Command. To join this action came a game but outmatched auxiliary squadron of British businessmen, week-end fliers.

[May 10, 1940. German forces invade Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. Winston Churchill succeeds Chamberlain as Prime Minister of England. May 14. The Dutch Army surrenders to Germany. May 28. Despite protests from his cabinet, King Leopold unconditionally surrenders Belgium, and he himself becomes a German prisoner. May 30-June 4. Vessels of all types safely evacuate 335,000 British and French troops from Dunkirk in epic Channel rescue. June 10, 1940. Italy declares war against France and England. King Haakon of Norway and his government retire to England. June 13. Paris is declared an open city and is evacuated by the French. June 14. German troops occupy city of Paris. June 15. Russians take possession of Lithuania. June 22. Germany and France sign armistice in Compiègne Forest, where the armistice of 1918 was signed. Terms provide for Nazi occupation of more than two-thirds of France.]

335,000  
men  
evacuated.

# THE ARMY OF DESPAIR

(A.D. 1940)

QUENTIN REYNOLDS

THERE was no dawn.

This was puzzling at first because it had been a clear night. Now the air was heavy with a smoky fog so thick that you could reach out and grab a piece of it in your hand. When you let it go your hand was full of soot. Then you realized that this was a man-made fog, a smoke screen thrown over Paris to hide the railroad stations from the bombers. But for the first time in its history Paris had no dawn.

*A smoke  
screen  
over Paris.*

The restaurants and the hotels were all closed. For nearly a week there had been no way of hearing from or communicating with the outside world. A reporter without means of communication is a jockey without a horse. No matter what story you wrote now, you would be its only reader. And now the Germans were pounding on the gates of Paris. Already their mechanized forces had encircled the city on three sides. Within a day the thing

*Germans  
at the gates.*

Reprinted by permission of Quentin Reynolds and  
*Colliers, The National Weekly.*

that couldn't happen was inevitably going to happen. They would be in Paris.

*The Gov-  
ernment  
leaves Paris.*

It was time to say farewell to Paris. Virtually everyone else had left. The Government had left the cable office, and the wireless had moved south. With the exception of a few newspapermen who had been assigned to the death watch the entire press had left. They had to leave. They had to follow their communications. Hotels were closed. There were no telephones and not a taxicab on the streets. Today Paris was a lonely old lady completely exhausted. The last of the refugees were leaving, some on bicycles, some on foot, pushing overladen handcarts.

*No siege  
of Paris.*

I had stayed behind to write the story of the siege of Paris, confident that the army would hold out in the north. Now it developed that there would be no siege of Paris. A lonely old lady was not a military necessity. She was to be reluctantly abandoned. The problem of how to leave Paris was solved by one of those incredible bits of luck that come only to fools who have waited too long. The Grand Boulevard was almost deserted this morning. One middle-aged woman was sitting at a table at a sidewalk café, one of the very few where one could still get coffee and bread. She was telling a few bystanders of her plight. She had driven into the city that morning in her small one-seated car. She had the car and two hundred francs, that was all. She would stay in Paris but she needed money. With money one could buy food even

*Woman  
with a car.*

from Germans. She wanted to sell her car. Sell her car? For weeks people had been combing Paris looking for cars. Offering fantastic prices, offering anything for means of leaving when the time came. I bought the car on the spot.

*How transportation was secured.*

She gave me the key. I gave her five hundred dollars, which left me with five. No signing of papers, no transferring of ownership. I don't know her name yet but I have her car.

Now I was mobile. Now I, too, could follow the Government, follow the wireless and the cable offices. My car was a Baby Austin, no bigger than a minute. Its tank was full of gasoline, enough to carry me a few hundred miles. There was room in it for a knapsack, a mattress, a typewriter and a steel helmet. And so the tiny car and I said farewell to Paris and headed south.

We didn't catch up with the great army of refugees until we passed the city limits. From then on we were a member of this army. It is one thing to see thousands of weary refugees in the newsreel; it is something quite different to be one of them. We moved slowly; sometimes we would be held up for as long as three hours without moving. The road stretched from Paris to Bordeaux four hundred miles away and it was packed solid that entire distance. Thousands of these people had come from the north; many had been on the road for two weeks. They had only one thought: move south. Move away from terror that swooped down from the skies.

*Army of refugees.*

*Moving south.*

Move away from the serfdom that would be theirs under German rule. Few had any money. Few knew where they were going.

*Refugees  
machine-  
gunned.*

Some rode in open trucks and large, open wagons drawn by horses. Inevitably the sides of these would be buttressed by mattresses. These were not for sleeping. These were protection against machine-gun bullets. Refugees coming from Belgium and from Holland and refugees who had come from the north had been machine-gunned by Messerschmidts not once or twice but repeatedly. This is not rumor; it is fact.

*Speed  
with  
bicycles.*

Thousands in our army of refugees rode bicycles and they made the best time. Often a military convoy came down the road against our tide of traffic. Then we would stop and wait interminably until it passed. Those on bicycles managed to keep going, winding in and out of the massed traffic.

Thousands were walking, many carrying huge packs on their shoulders. This was a quiet, patient army. There was little talk. The hours passed slowly. My uniform and military pass gave me priority. And yet in eight hours I had only covered fifty miles.

*Gasoline  
a pressing  
need.*

It started to rain as night fell. Now we began to be held up by trucks and automobiles that had run out of gasoline. There was no gasoline to be had. Women stood on the roadside crying to us for gasoline as we passed. We could only look ahead and drive on. The rain continued to fall softly and the night grew very dark, which

made us breathe easier. Even German bombers can't see through a pall of blackness.

Individuals would emerge from the mass when we stopped. Here on the roadside was a woman lying asleep, her head pillowed on her bicycle. Here was a farm wagon that had broken down. A man and woman with their three children, the youngest in the mother's arms, looked at the wreck. The rear axle had broken and when the wagon collapsed its weight had completely smashed one wheel. They stood there looking at it, their faces empty of everything but despair. The road was completely jammed now. A man went from car to car asking: "Is my wife there? She has lost her mind. She has lost her mind." *People on the road.*

He asked me and I said: "No, she isn't here." And he looked his amazement at hearing his mother tongue. He was English, had owned a bookstore in Paris. We heard a strange laugh and he ran toward it quickly. I followed. He had found his wife. She had left their car and now she had returned to it. She kept laughing.

Their car had run out of gasoline. They had no food. The woman laughed and then cried a little and said, "Help us." *Out of gasoline.*

I took the man back to my tiny car. I showed him my gasoline meter. I had less than three gallons left. There was no room in my car for anything. I had no food. I couldn't help. People around us looked on, saying nothing. There was nothing to be said. Thousands were



in the same predicament. But this woman had cried. That was breaking the rule a little bit. No one else was crying.

Our army went on through the night. Hours later a "*Alerte . . . whisper ran back: "Alerte . . . alerte."* It had started perhaps miles ahead and had come back to us. The very few cars that had been showing lights snapped them off. Bombers were somewhere overhead in that black, unknown world above us. We were very quiet, thousands of us.

I stepped out of my car. I flashed my light once to see where we were. I was in the middle of a bridge. Not a good place to be with German bombers overhead. But there was no place to go.

We stood on the bridge, kept from going either backward or forward by the press of cars and trucks and wagons and bicycles and people and by the blackness of the night. Far to the right we could see occasional flashes and now and then hear the sound of the guns. Faintly now we heard the hum of a plane. It may have been the drone of fifty planes, flying high. It's hard to tell at night. Then it stopped. It may have been a French plane or fifty French planes.

*Listening  
for air-  
planes.*

Our army resumed its weary, tragic march. Now some turned off the road. We were in a beautiful part of France. It was raining too hard to sleep in the fields that bordered the road. I drove as long as I could, but the intense blackness of night strains your eyes as effec-

*Intense  
blackness.*

tively as strong light does and when I had gone off the road twice I gave up.

Occasionally a car crawled by or a silent bicyclist or a few on foot passed. From the thousands and thousands ahead and behind came an overwhelming silence that somehow had the effect of terrific, overpowering noise. This silent symphony of despair never stopped. It was impossible to sleep. We sat in our cars and our wagons and waited for the dawn. It took hours for it to come and when it arrived it was a murky dawn. Without food or drink, we set forth south, always south.

*Waiting  
for  
the dawn.*

We passed through small towns. Streams of cars half a mile long would be lined up at a gasoline pump that had run dry days before. Now we passed stranded cars every few minutes. Sometimes people pushed their cars, hoping that there would be fuel in the next town. There was no fuel in the next. There was no fuel and there was no food. We were the stragglers in this army. For more than a week it had been passing this road.

*Neither fuel  
nor food.*

At one town we passed a railroad station. A long freight train was just pulling in from Paris. The doors of the freight cars were open and humanity poured out, spilled, overflowed. These were the cars on which the famous sign, "Forty men, eight horses," was scrawled during the past war. Forty men. There were at least one hundred men and women and children in each of these freight cars. At each station the doors were opened for five minutes. This train had been on the road nearly three

*Train  
machine-  
gunned.*

days from Paris. Once the train had been machine-gunned. Not one, but everyone I spoke to, told me the same story. It had been machine-gunned by eight German planes. French fighters had come and driven them off. Had anyone been hit? No one knew.

The congestion increased the farther south we went. People looked even wearier. Thousands of them had walked from Paris. We were a hundred and fifty miles from there now. Finally I arrived at Tours.

*Bombers  
over  
towns.*

There was no rest for weary wanderers in Tours. The bombers came, aiming for an airport on the outskirts of the city and for a bridge that led south. The huge square in front of the city hall was packed with tired refugees. They ran when the bombs crashed. When bombs fall close to you, your only thought is to get somewhere else. They ran but their heavy feet rebelled and when they fell they lay where they had fallen, shapeless bundles of apathy and despair. Three times within an hour the Germans came and the horrible, shrill noise of tearing silk that the bombs made as they screamed earthward and the shattering explosions a second later drained whatever small vitality there was left in the pain-racked bodies of these miserable children of ill fortune.

*Courage  
and  
stoicism.*

They had to move on. They stumbled on south, bearing the cross of their despair with the same courage and stoicism that another had borne a cross nearly 2,000 years ago. Then we all had to leave. The Government had left and the wireless had moved south to Bordeaux.

Tours became another ghost town. I took back roads to Bordeaux to avoid the packed humanity of the main route. Near Bordeaux I joined the main road and once more became one of this army.

Bordeaux was bulging at the seams. Bordeaux was an overfilled sack of flour tied too tightly around the middle. *Crowds in Bordeaux.* It was night and thousands were standing in front of restaurants. When they were told that there was no food left they continued to stand there. Wild rumors chased one another along the dark, packed streets. The Cabinet had resigned; Reynaud was out; there was talk of capitulation. Added to the pain and misery stamped, perhaps permanently, on the faces of these homeless, there was now bewilderment. This thing couldn't be. This country their ancestors had built could not die. They and their fathers before them had tilled the soil, had nursed vineyards and had watched green leaves grow into sturdy vines and had seen the wonder of grapes being born and living and growing. Then they had turned the grapes into pure wine. What crime had they committed that they should now lie miserably in fields and in city streets. Had they placed too much faith in their rulers?

I sat in a crowded restaurant. The *alerte* sounded. *Fear of Lights were put out and service ended. A trembling Nazi voice cried: "Fifty Boche planes are coming over Bordeaux. I heard it. I know it is true. Fifty planes will kill us all." The voice came from the woman who ran the airplanes.*

*Misery  
of the  
homeless.*

restaurant. No one moved. No one said anything. We were all a little bit embarrassed for the woman. Then an officer laughed, "Stop talking nonsense, Madame. Go back to your kitchen and find fifty eggs. We are all hungry." The woman stared ahead for a moment, brushed the hair back from her forehead and turned into the kitchen. The night was soft, trying perhaps to make one forget the helpless misery of three million homeless who were on the streets of Bordeaux. But no one looked up. The magic of the night was ignored. People were too tired. The English journalists hurried to a destroyer that had been sent for them. They had to get out quickly. We Americans were safe enough for the moment. We crawled into loft buildings to sleep. It was easy to sleep on hard floors. The flight from Paris had been a long and tiring one.

*Agony  
of the  
refugees.*

In the morning the homeless again started their pathetic trek to the south. Many left cars on the streets. There was no gasoline. Many abandoned broken wagons and cars and smashed bicycles. Where were they going? They didn't know. Writing this, I can see the street below filled with the pitiful, ragged army of refugees. For days and for weeks they had endured this agony. It is not a pleasant sight to watch, this twentieth-century Gethsemane.

[June 27, 1940. Rumania yields to Russia's demand for Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. July 1. German



NAZI VICTORS IN THE PLACF VENDOME, PARIS, AFTER THE SURRENDER OF THE UNDEFENDED CITY, JUNE 14, 1940. A CLIMAX IN ONE OF THE GREAT WORLD TRAGEDIES (Page 64)

FROM AN INTERNATIONAL NEWS PHOTOGRAPH



forces occupy Channel island of Guernsey and Jersey.

July 2. French government moves its headquarters to Vichy. July 3. British sink or damage several French warships off Oran, Algeria, after French Fleet rejects ultimatum of surrender or immobilization. July 21.

*French Government moves to Vichy.*

Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia declare themselves part of the Soviet Union. August 6. The Italians attack British Somaliland. August 15. London is bombed by German planes for the first time. September 6. King Carol of Rumania abdicates in favor of his son Prince Michael.

September 14. Congress passes the selective service bill calling for the registration of all men between the ages of 21 and 35. September 27. Germany, Italy, and Japan sign treaty in Berlin pledging mutual assistance in case any one of them is attacked. October 13. The *Yankee Clipper* makes round-trip flight from New York to Bermuda in less than twelve hours. October 16. About 16,000,000 Americans register for the draft. October 28. Italian forces invade Greece. November 5. President Roosevelt is elected to a third term by 449 electoral votes to Wendell L. Willkie's 82. November 20. Hungary joins the Berlin-Rome-Tokio alliance. November 23. Rumania also becomes part of the alliance. November 24. Slovakia follows example of Rumania and joins German-Italian-Japanese alliance. January 22, 1941. Tobruk falls to British forces. March 1. Bulgaria signs Germany-Italy-Japan pact. March 7. Italian Somaliland is completely captured by British troops. March 11. President Roosevelt signs

*Axis mutual-assistance pact.*



Bismarck  
is sunk.

lend-lease bill. April 6. Nazi armies invade Yugoslavia and Greece. April 13. Russia and Japan sign neutrality pact. April 17. Entire Yugoslav army surrenders to Nazi forces. April 23. Germans break through Thermopylae pass. May 6. Haile Selassie returns to Ethiopian throne. May 27. German battleship *Bismarck* is sunk off French coast. June 6. Crete is abandoned to the Axis. June 11. Nazi troops are massed at Russian frontier. June 22. German armies invade U.S.S.R. on front extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea.]

# THE INVASION OF RUSSIA

(A.D. 1941)

WINSTON CHURCHILL

I HAVE taken occasion to speak to you tonight because we have reached one of the climacterics of the war. In the first of these intense turning points, a year ago, France fell prostrate under the German hammer and we had to face the storm alone.

*Defeat of  
France.*

The second was when the Royal Air Force beat the Hun raiders out of the daylight air and thus warded off the Nazi invasion of our islands while we were still ill-armed and ill-prepared.

The third turning point was when the President and Congress of the United States passed the lease and lend enactment, devoting nearly 2,000,000,000 sterling of the wealth of the New World to help us defend our liberties and their own.

*American  
"lease-lend"  
aid.*

Those were the three climacterics.

The fourth is now upon us.

At four o'clock this morning Hitler attacked and invaded Russia. All his usual formalities of perfidy were

*Attack on  
Russia.*

Broadcast from London, June 22, 1941.

*Hitler's  
formulas  
of perfidy.*

observed with scrupulous technique. A non-aggression treaty had been solemnly signed and was in force between the two countries. No complaint had been made by Germany of its non-fulfillment. Under its cloak of false confidence the German armies drew up in immense strength along a line which stretched from the White Sea to the Black Sea and their air fleets and armored divisions slowly and methodically took up their stations.

*Attack  
in force  
without  
warning.*

Then, suddenly, without declaration of war, without even an ultimatum, the German bombs rained down from the sky upon the Russian cities; the German troops violated the Russian frontiers and an hour later the German Ambassador, who till the night before was lavishing his assurances of friendship, almost of alliance, upon the Russians, called upon the Russian Foreign Minister to tell him that a state of war existed between Germany and Russia.

*Treachery  
on a vast  
scale.*

Thus was repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed compact and international faith which we have witnessed in Norway, in Denmark, in Holland, and in Belgium, and which Hitler's accomplice and jackal, Mussolini, so faithfully imitated in the case of Greece.

*Churchill's  
warnings.*

All this was no surprise to me. In fact I gave clear and precise warnings to Stalin of what was coming. I gave him warnings as I have given warnings to others before. I can only hope that these warnings did not fall unheeded.

All we know at present is that the Russian people are defending their native soil and that their leaders have called upon them to resist to the utmost.

Hitler is a monster of wickedness, insatiable in his lust for blood and plunder. Not content with having all Europe under his heel or else terrorized into various forms of abject submission, he must now carry his work of butchery and desolation among the vast multitudes of Russia and of Asia. The terrible military machine which we and the rest of the civilized world so foolishly, so supinely, so insensately allowed the Nazi gangsters to build up year by year from almost nothing; this machine cannot stand idle, lest it rust or fall to pieces. It must be in continual motion, grinding up human lives and trampling down the homes and the rights of hundreds of millions of men. *Hitler's terrible military machine.*

Moreover, it must be fed not only with flesh but with oil. So now this bloodthirsty guttersnipe must launch his mechanized armies upon new fields of slaughter, pillage and devastation. Poor as are the Russian peasants, workmen and soldiers, he must steal from them their daily bread. He must devour their harvests. He must rob them of the oil which drives their plows and thus produce a famine without example in human history. *New oil fields needed.*

And even the carnage and ruin which his victory, should he gain it—though he's not gained it yet—will bring upon the Russian people, will itself be only a stepping stone to the attempt to plunge the four or five *After Russia, China.*

hundred millions who live in China and the 350,000,000 who live in India into that bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the swastika flaunts itself.

It is not too much to say here this pleasant summer evening that the lives and happiness of a thousand million additional human beings are now menaced with brutal Nazi violence. That is enough to make us hold our breath.

*World  
menaced  
by Nazi  
violence.*

But presently I shall show you something else that lies behind and something that touches very nearly the life of Britain and of the United States.

*Nazism  
worse than  
Communism.*

The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of communism. It is devoid of all theme and principle except appetite and racial domination. It excels in all forms of human wickedness, in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression. No one has been a more consistent opponent of communism than I have for the last twenty-five years. I will unsay no words that I've spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding.

*Russians  
visioned  
guarding  
their homes.*

The past, with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies, flashes away. I see the Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding the fields which their fathers have tilled from time immemorial. I see them guarding their homes, their mothers and wives praying—ah, yes, for there are times when all pray for

the safety of their loved ones—for the return of the bread-winners, of their champions, of their protectors.

I see the 10,000 villages of Russia, where the means of existence was wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still primordial human joys, where maidens laugh and children play. I see advancing upon all this, in hideous onslaught, the Nazi war machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty expert agents, fresh from the cowing and tying down of a dozen countries. I see also the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery, plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts. I see the German bombers and fighters in the sky, still smarting from many a British whipping, so delighted to find what they believe is an easier and a safer prey. And behind all this glare, behind all this storm, I see that small group of villainous men who planned, organized and launched this cataract of horrors upon mankind.

*Horrors of  
the Nazi  
onslaught.*

And then my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our Allies against the same deadly foe, when they fought with so much valor and constancy and helped to gain a victory, from all share in which, alas, they were, through no fault of ours, utterly cut off.

*Russians in  
the earlier  
World War.*

I have lived through all this and you will pardon me if I express my feelings and the stir of old memories. But now I have to declare the decision of His Majesty's Government, and I feel sure it is a decision in which the

great Dominions will, in due course, concur. And that we must speak of now, at once, without a day's delay. I have to make the declaration, but can you doubt what our policy will be?

*Brinsin's  
single  
purpose.*

We have but one aim and one single irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime. From this nothing will turn us. Nothing. We will never parley; we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang. We shall fight him by land; we shall fight him by sea; we shall fight him in the air, until, with God's help we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated its people from his yoke.

Any man or State that fights against Nazism will have our aid. Any man or State that marches with Hitler is our foe. This applies not only to organized States but to all representatives of that vile race of Quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi regime against their fellow countrymen and against the lands of their births. These Quislings, like the Nazi leaders themselves, if not disposed of by their fellow-countrymen, which would save trouble, will be delivered by us on the morrow of victory to the justice of the Allied tribunals. That is our policy and that is our declaration.

*All possible  
aid for  
Russia.*

It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and Allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it as we shall, faithfully and steadfastly to the end.

We have offered to the Government of Soviet Russia any technical or economic assistance which is in our power and which is likely to be of service to them. We shall bomb Germany by day as well as by night in ever-increasing measure, casting upon them month by month a heavier discharge of bombs and making the German people taste and gulp each month a sharper dose of the miseries they have showered upon mankind.

*Germany  
to be  
bombed  
day and  
night.*

It is noteworthy that only yesterday the Royal Air Force, striking inland over France, cut down with very small loss to themselves twenty-eight of the Hun fighting machines in the air above the French soil they have invaded, defiled, and profess to hold.

*Exploits  
of the  
Royal Air  
Force.*

But this is only a beginning. From now henceforward the main expansion of our air force proceeds with gathering speed. In another six months the weight of the help we are receiving from the United States in war materials of all kinds, especially in heavy bombers, will begin to tell. This is no class war. It is a war in which the whole British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations is engaged without distinction of race, creed or party.

It is not for me to speak of the action of the United States, but this I will say: If Hitler imagines that his attack on Soviet Russia will cause the slightest division of aims or slackening of effort in the great democracies, who are resolved upon his doom, he is woefully mistaken. On the contrary, we shall be fortified and encouraged in our efforts to rescue mankind from his

*United  
States to  
continue  
sending  
supplies.*



tyranny. We shall be strengthened and not weakened in our determination and in our resources.

This is no time to moralize upon the follies of countries and governments which have allowed themselves to be struck down one by one when by united action they could so easily have saved themselves and saved the world from this catastrophe.

But, when I spoke a few minutes ago of Hitler's blood-lust and the hateful appetites which have impelled or lured him on his Russian adventure, I said there was one deeper motive behind his outrage. He wishes to destroy the Russian power because he hopes that if he succeeds in this he will be able to bring back the main strength of his army and air force from the east and hurl it upon this island, which he knows he must conquer or suffer the penalty of his crimes.

*Deeper  
motive  
behind  
invasion  
of Russia.*

His invasion of Russia is no more than a prelude to an attempted invasion of the British Isles. He hopes, no doubt, that all this may be accomplished before the winter comes and that he can overwhelm Great Britain before the fleets and air power of the United States will intervene. He hopes that he may once again repeat upon a greater scale than ever before that process of destroying his enemies one by one, by which he has so long thrived and prospered, and that then the scene will be clear for the final act, without which all his conquests would be in vain, namely, the subjugation of the Western Hemisphere to his will and to his system.

*Hopes to  
accomplish  
objective  
before  
winter.*

The Russian danger is therefore our danger and the danger of the United States just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe.

Let us learn the lessons already taught by such cruel experience. Let us redouble our exertions and strike with united strength while life and power remain.

*Lessons  
already  
taught.*

[June 26, 1941. Finland enters war on Nazi side. June 27. Hungary declares war on Russia. July 7. Upon agreement with Danish Minister to the United States, American naval and marine units occupy Iceland. July 13. Great Britain and Russia sign mutual aid pact. July 16. Germans claim capture of Smolensk. August 14. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill conclude basis of common war and peace aims, known as the "Atlantic Charter." August 24. Churchill warns Japan that Britain will side with the United States in the event of war. September 6. Russians defend Leningrad against Nazi columns in furious battle. October 25. German troops capture Kharkov. November 17. President Roosevelt signs law repealing the Neutrality Act. December 6. Britain declares war on Finland, Hungary and Rumania. December 7. Japan attacks Pearl Harbor.]

*"Atlantic  
Charter"  
concluded.*



# PEARL HARBOR

(A.D. 1941)

GILBERT CANT

JAPANESE treachery is nothing new. On February 8, 1904, Admiral Togo attacked the Russian Pacific Fleet at Port Arthur without warning and crippled three major units. In this way he laid the basis for the crushing defeat at Tsushima of the Baltic Fleet, combined with the remnant of the force which he had "copenhagened" at Port Arthur. This naval history was well known to all American officers, and especially to those who had had the advantage of serving in Japan. One of the most studious of them, Captain William D. Puleston, wrote in the summer of 1941, "there will be no American Port Arthur." Captain Puleston was a better judge of history than of some of his superior officers.

*Japanese  
treachery  
at Port  
Arthur.*

There were nine American battleships based on Pearl Harbor in late November and early December 1941. There were also three aircraft carriers which had been integrated with the Pacific Fleet, and the necessary supporting cruisers, destroyers, submarines and auxiliaries.

*American  
ships at  
Pearl  
Harbor.*

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*Carrier  
task force  
on mission  
to Wake  
Island.*

On November 28 a carrier task force with the *Enterprise* as flagship left Pearl Harbor to deliver twelve Grumman fighter planes to Wake Island. This operation coincided with the receipt at Pearl Harbor of a warning from the Navy Department that negotiations with Japan were near a breakdown. As a result, Admiral Halsey was ordered to attack and destroy any non-American naval craft which his task force might encounter. In this respect, Admiral Kimmel, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet, appears to have gone beyond the instructions he had received to provide for the security of the fleet. He had taken a similar extreme measure in regard to the security of its base, in ordering that any Japanese submarine which appeared within the prohibited defense areas off Pearl Harbor and other naval anchorages should be destroyed without question put.

*No carrier  
at Pearl  
Harbor.*

Since the second carrier task force also was absent on a mission, there was not a single carrier in Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7. There were, however, eight battleships, seven cruisers, twenty-eight destroyers and five submarines. The battleship *Colorado* was on the west coast of the United States. The *Pennsylvania* was in dry dock, and the seven remaining battleships were moored in a double line off Ford Island, in what is known as Battleship Row. Leaving nothing to chance, the Japanese actually sent one of their midget submarines into the *sanctum sanctorum* to make sure that the heavy American ships were in their assigned pews. There was

a net with which the entrance was supposed to be closed during the hours of darkness, but it had been designed for man-sized submarines. In any case, it was opened at 0458 (4:58 A.M.) to permit the passage of two American minesweepers and was not replaced. How the midget subs, of 45 tons and with a range of only 200 miles, reached the waters off Oahu, has not been officially disclosed, but it seems most likely that they came from large, ocean-going submarines, at first designed to carry seaplanes, but with the hangars converted for the newer and more deadly brood.

*Net not replaced.*

Of the twenty-eight destroyers in the base, twenty-five were in the water, and all of these presumably had sonic devices for the express purpose of detecting the approach of submarines. But nobody expected to find Japanese submarines dodging under the sterns of American battleships in Pearl Harbor, and as a matter of fact nobody did for several hours to come.

*The submarines were not detected.*

The Navy and the Army each had one more chance to learn that an attack was imminent. A suspicious object was sighted off Pearl Harbor at 0630 by the U.S.S. *Antares*, a target repair ship. This object was attacked, as Kimmel had directed, by a Navy patrol plane cooperating with the destroyer *Ward*. The destroyer had time to fire one shell at the submarine, which had had the gall to surface, but not enough time to identify it positively before it dived. The destroyer commander's position was far from enviable. The rule that any submarine

*Submarine sighted by the Antares.*

*Depth  
charges  
dropped.*

approaching the base must identify itself, on pain of attack, was clear. But in the uncertain light, there was no assurance that this was not an American submarine which might be having difficulty with its elevator planes. Despite the uneasy fear that he might be killing three score or more of his own comrades, the destroyer commander obeyed his orders and dropped depth charges. He saw enough wreckage to convince him that the sub was destroyed. The depth charges were dropped between 0633 and 0645. Within that period the patrol plane loosed a single bomb.

*No alarm  
sounded.*

The *Ward's* commander reported his action to base, and was told to verify. After some consideration he repeated his report to the watch officer at the base, at 0712. The chief of staff was notified, but no alert warnings were issued. A possible explanation may be found in the attitude of the officer to whom the patrol plane pilot reported his action: "Keep quiet: most likely it's one of our own subs." The Navy's record of efficiency in guarding its main base is not sustained by this incident. The sinking of any non-American submarine was virtually an act of war. The presence of such craft should have been the clearest warning of imminent danger. A gun was fired, a bomb was dropped, depth charges were exploded, men were killed, and yet no alarm was sounded to bring the fleet to action stations.

If there had been better cooperation between the Army and the Navy, the *Ward's* encounter might have been

properly assessed. The responsibility for operating the warning system to detect warships and aircraft at a distance from the coasts rested with the Army. The vigilance exercised naturally stood in direct ratio to the expectation of attack. In this connection it is best to quote from the Roberts Report:

*Army responsible for warning system.*

On November 27, 1941, there was sufficient partially trained personnel available to operate the aircraft warning system throughout twenty-four hours of the day. . . . An arc of nearly 360 degrees around Oahu could have been covered. Admiral Kimmel, on and prior to December 7, 1941, assumed that the aircraft warning system was being fully operated by the Army, but made no inquiry . . . as to what the fact was with respect to its operation.

*Navy made no inquiry.*

Actually the aircraft warning system was being operated from 0400 to 0700, the hours around dawn during which a surprise attack was most to be feared. The War Department states:

Joseph L. Lockard, then a private, was the operator in charge of the detector unit. . . . At approximately 7:02 A.M. [0702] a signal was detected on his instruments which, in the opinion of Lockard, signified a large number of airplanes in flight approximately 132 miles distant. . . . Lockard promptly contacted the duty officer of the information center and furnished him with complete particulars of the readings.

*Planes detected.*

The Roberts Report supplies the additional point that the unidentified planes were on a bearing slightly east of north of Oahu, and goes on to say that Lockard:



... reported this fact at 7:20 A.M. [0720] to a lieutenant of the Army who was at the central information center, having been detailed there to familiarize himself with the operation of the system. This inexperienced lieutenant, having information that certain United States planes might be in the vicinity at the time, assumed that the planes in question were friendly planes, and took no action with respect to them. The recording of the observation made indicated that these airplanes were tracked toward the island and then lost.

*Planes  
assumed  
to be  
friendly.*

The Japanese planes which were the subject of this report were heading directly for the northeastern part of Oahu. Others approached their targets from a more westerly direction, the Japanese evidently having split their task group into two forces to reduce the likelihood of detection, and to minimize their losses in case one portion should be intercepted. What vessels they used is not yet known with certainty, but the available data point accusingly at the three carriers *Hiryu*, *Soryu* and *Koryu*. Probably they carried an increased complement of fifty planes each, of which 25 per cent would not be expected to return from the first attack for refueling and rearming.

*Japanese  
planes  
approached  
Oahu.*

*First  
objective.*

The naval air station at Kaneohe Bay was the first objective. The commandant, Captain H. M. Martin, was at breakfast. Hearing aircraft of which he had had no advance notification, he looked out and saw three flights of three planes each making a right turn into the bay. His instantaneous official reaction, the result of careful training and strict discipline, was anger at the prohibited

right turn. His fifteen-year-old son, David, drew attention to the Rising Sun insignia. It was 0748. The Japanese planes skimmed over the water, no more than fifty feet high, toward the anchored American seaplanes. Crews which were being ferried out to service the seaplanes were the first victims of hostilities in the Pacific. Their small boats were raked with machine gun fire as the Japanese aircraft, now winning the designation “enemy,” swept on over the seaplanes. Casualties were heavy among both men and planes. The latter were riddled by incendiary bullets and their gasoline tanks caught fire. The enemy kept on over the ramp on which some seaplanes had been drawn out of the water. These were wrecked. Then the hangar was set afire. As the Japanese turned to execute a figure 8, they were brought under fire—by a single Lewis machine gun on a portable mount which an ordnance man had snatched from the armory and set up atop a large garbage can. *Heavy casualties.*

The enemy planes, apparently all fighters, departed unscathed. Twenty minutes later there appeared nine fighters and nine bombers. The latter dropped two bombs each. According to an unofficial investigator, the squadron which had shattered Kaneohe flew on toward the Marine Corps’ air base at Ewa. The pattern at Ewa was the same as at Kaneohe. The only opposition came from free machine guns on improvised mounts in exposed positions, and casualties were far heavier among the defenders than among the attackers. *Enemy planes unharmed.*

*Perfect  
enemy  
technique.*

But Kaneohe and Ewa were minor objectives compared with the Army's big fighter plane base at Wheeler Field, its heavy bomber base at Hickam Field, and the Navy's field for wheeled planes on Ford Island, in Pearl Harbor. The enemy's technique was perfectly uniform and uniformly perfect. First the fighters strafed the exposed American fighters, pinning them to the ground, helpless. Then the bombers came to complete the destruction, under an umbrella of fighters which had an incidental offensive value in strafing.

*Air attack  
believed  
impossible.*

The first phases of these coordinated and simultaneous attacks took less time to execute than they take to describe. The enemy's task was made infinitely easier by the fact that both Army and Navy authorities in Hawaii had dismissed a surprise air raid on the Territory as impossible, but had been greatly disturbed by fears of sabotage. There were in the islands 157,000 persons of Japanese origin, of whom almost one-fourth were aliens. It was known that there was a potential fifth column among them; how large was not known. However, the authorities overestimated the danger of sabotage at our military installations, and ordered aircraft to be drawn up in lines in the open on the fields, where they could be guarded most efficiently by sentries whose beats and arcs of fire would overlap. This precaution, desirable against sabotage, was fatal when the "impossible" surprise air attack developed. Great numbers of planes were parked wing-tip to wing-tip in neat rows clear of the

*Sabotage  
feared.*

trees or other natural cover. The Japanese fliers could have asked for nothing more.

The Army's fighter planes at Wheeler were Curtiss P-40s (Tomahawks if they were models A or B, Kittyhawks if they were models C or D). Sixty-six of these were destroyed. Others, at this and other fields, were temporarily disabled or were unable to take off because the runways were blocked by wrecks or pocked with bomb craters. *Fighter planes at Wheeler disabled.*

For cold-blooded efficiency, the attack on Hickam was the most remarkable. Scarcely a bomb or a bullet was wasted. A sheet metal worker who was rushed first to Wheeler and then to Hickam has described both. Of the former, where the six large buildings included four hangars, he writes: "It was dreadful. Half of it was a mass of smoking embers. Four hangars were gone. Fully forty planes were destroyed, never having left the ground. The rows of tents next the hangars had been machine gunned until they looked like sieves." But he found Hickam "heartrending—worse by far than Wheeler. The barracks were destroyed. The only building left almost untouched was the hospital." *Efficient attack on Hickam Field.*

The Navy's field and hangars on Ford Island were given the same treatment as the Army installations. Four squadrons of Catalina flying boats (Consolidated PBYs) were smashed and burned. The Ford Island hangars were bombed and strafed; anything which appeared on the runways was strafed. If it had not been for the day's

*Bad weather  
prevented  
additional  
casualties.*

delay caused by the bad weather, all the aircraft from Admiral Halsey's task force would have been targets at Ford Island. As it was, only the eighteen units of Scouting Squadron 6, flying ahead of the task force from the *Enterprise* to Ford Island, became involved in the attack on Pearl Harbor, and as attackers, not as targets. They had been flown off from the carrier at 0700 when 210 miles southwest of Barbers Point and arrived over Oahu at the height of the action. Four were shot down, but not without taking their toll of the enemy. Of those which landed on Ford Island when their gasoline and ammunition were expended, thirteen were serviceable to fly later in the day.

*Many  
planes  
disabled.*

These eighteen planes of VS6 are included in the total of 202 naval aircraft available at Oahu that day. Of these, 150 were disabled in the first few minutes, including eighty which were totally destroyed. Of the fifty-two naval planes not disabled, few were of types suitable for repelling aerial attack. The Army had 273 aircraft on the island; ninety-seven were destroyed at Hickam and Wheeler fields alone before they could leave the ground. How many more were lost in combat and at subsidiary fields is not known, but with the ratio of naval plane losses as a guide, a hundred more must have been permanently or temporarily disabled.

The first warning of the imminent attack on Pearl Harbor itself was given by lookouts atop the Navy Yard signal tower at 0755. No word of the hostilities which

began seven minutes earlier at Kaneohe Bay had been communicated to them, possibly because of severed telephone lines at the outlying station. Ironically enough, the Japanese had to expend their first ammunition against a civilian flivver plane which a Honolulu lawyer named Roy Vitousek was flying, just for fun, but which happened to be in the way as fifteen Zero fighters came in to strafe Ford Island and Hickam. The lookouts heard the machine-gun fire and saw the Japanese insignia, and hoisted visual alarm signals. The response was instantaneous. It must be borne in mind that no advance warning had been received, so no condition of alert was in effect aboard the eighty-six naval vessels of all types then in Pearl Harbor. Only the ready machine guns aboard the larger craft were manned. But—contrary to reports that the bulk of the men were absent on overnight liberty or were recovering from hangovers—the Roberts Report states that 60 per cent of all officers were aboard their ships, with 97 per cent of the enlisted men, when the attack began, and this constituted adequate complements of men fit for duty.

*Civilian  
plane  
fired at.*

*Machine  
guns  
manned.*

The Japanese pilots had exact instructions not only as to the vessels they were to attack and where they were located—for example, the *West Virginia* was moored alongside the *Tennessee*, with the latter inshore—but also as to the portions of the ships which were most vital and most vulnerable. Within a minute or so after the fighters and bombers had begun their assault on the air-

*Japanese  
had exact  
information.*

*Torpedo  
planes  
and dive-  
bombers  
were major  
threats.*

fields, other squadrons swooped on the battleships. Twenty-one torpedo planes were employed in four groups. The Navy says they were "assisted effectively" by dive-bombers, thirty of which appeared in eight waves during this phase of the operation. These two types of planes, expertly teamed, constituted the major threat. At the same time, they were the most vulnerable to a concentrated fire from machine guns and antiaircraft artillery. The Japanese pilots showed great determination in pressing home their attacks, but there is nothing to suggest that the enemy was using suicide squadrons so early in the war.

*Americans  
amazed at  
Japanese  
persistence.*

American naval men, who certainly are not lacking in courage, were amazed by the persistence with which the Jap fliers completed their runs in the face of machine-gun fire which broke out immediately from the battleships, and of artillery which was brought into play within four to five minutes. A senior officer of the *Nevada*, who was aboard the hospital ship *Solace* waiting for mass to begin, "saw a flight of torpedo planes flying toward Battleship Row, dropping torpedoes. I even saw one headed for my ship, but it burst into flame and a loud cheer went up." This may have been a defective torpedo, but more likely an alert gunner aboard the *Nevada* had trained a machine gun upon it and perforated the warhead casing. The officer "couldn't understand why many more of the raiders didn't come down in that blaze of fire from our ships, but they stayed right

on their course." He underwent a strafing attack on his way to the *Nevada*, and almost as soon as he stepped aboard, he saw a torpedo hit the *Arizona*. "It was a dead sound, like a big swish of wind going through foliage." The *Arizona* was under simultaneous dive-bombing attack. Japanese pilots up to this moment had been derided as ill-trained, myopic and lacking in a sense of balance, but one of them maneuvered his craft into position for a perfect bullseye, the hit of which every aviator dreams but rarely achieves—directly upon the smokestack. The twenty-six-year-old battleship's funnel lacked the elaborate precautions built into later vessels to minimize damage from such a hit, and the heavy bomb penetrated the fire rooms. The boilers blew up first. Then the forward magazine, containing 14-inch shells and cordite charges in silk bags, went up. The effects can better be imagined than described.

*The Arizona hit by torpedo.*

*Boilers blew up.*

The officer who had just returned to the *Nevada* believed that the flames would reach the bow of his ship, since she was anchored on the *Arizona's* quarter, and suggested that they get under way. "The engine-room said it would take a half hour, but I said we had better get under way right now. We cast off the lines, backed the engines, and the bow started moving out. We cleared the *Arizona* and a repair ship [the *Vestal*] which was also alongside about forty feet away. Our gun crew shielded the ammunition with their own bodies as we

*Ammunition shielded by gun crew.*



moved past the blazing *Arizona*. As we squared off down the channel the Japs began dive-bombing."

*Excellent  
judgment.*

Presumably this officer was Lieutenant Commander Francis J. Thomas. For Thomas, although a reservist, was senior surviving officer aboard the *Nevada*. He took command, and the Navy says he handled his ship "in an outstanding manner." His Navy Cross citation reads: "Although the *Nevada* had been torpedoed and bombed, he displayed excellent judgment in promptly getting her under way and moving her from the proximity of another ship which was surrounded by burning oil and afire from stem to stern."

*The Nevada  
struck by  
dive-  
bomber.*

The old *Nevada* was hit by a dive bomber almost as soon as she started down the narrow, winding channel for the safety that was believed to lie in the open sea, where she would have greater maneuverability. Before first-aid squads could clear the wounded from her decks, more Japanese planes saw what seemed to be a golden opportunity—to sink her in the channel and thus bottle up the entire battle fleet for untold weeks to come.

*Expert  
witness.*

The first bomb had struck the *Nevada's* deck close to a 5-inch antiaircraft battery. Only one gun stopped firing. Every other piece of artillery aboard which could be elevated to a high angle was in action, along with machine guns. Lieutenant Clarence E. Dickinson of the *Enterprise*, who must be regarded as an expert witness since he had been trained in dive-bombing, estimates that eighteen to twenty Japanese planes took turns in trying

to sink the *Nevada*. His judgment of their performance is that they were "so eager that bombs fell first on one side of the old battle-wagon, and then on the other." Nevertheless, the *Nevada* was hit several times and as she neared the end of the narrow channel alongside Ford Island she received orders not to leave the harbor. Her engines were reversed and she was run gently aground opposite the hospital. Presumably the decision to keep her inside the harbor was based not only on the danger of her being sunk where she might block the exit, but also on the hazard presented by submarines lying outside.

The *Oklahoma*, sister ship of the *Nevada*, was hit by one or more "tin fish" dropped by the first flight of torpedo bombers. She at once developed a heavy list. The first torpedo struck a few seconds after the quartermaster had announced over the public address system: "All hands to general quarters! This is no ——. The Japs are attacking!" Most of the men whose assigned positions were above decks reached their battle stations and manned the guns as the *Oklahoma* began to heel over. Many kept on firing until they were literally washed from their positions by the rush of water over the decks of the capsizing battleship, and cheered the more fortunate *Nevada* as she passed them. Hundreds were trapped below. Even before the smoke of battle cleared, civilian workers were notified that boat crews passing the overturned hull had heard tappings. They swarmed over the

*Aim not accurate.*

*Hundreds trapped in capsizing Oklahoma.*

slimy, exposed bottom of the ship, cut holes in its steel plates, and rescued thirty-two.

The *California* and *West Virginia* also were heavily hit. The former was berthed alone and exposed, southwest of other ships in "The Row;" the latter was in the outer line with the *Oklahoma*. The *Nevada*, although exposed at the end of the Row, had room to maneuver, while the *Tennessee* and *Maryland* were sheltered between the outer line and the island. The three last-named thus escaped torpedoing. The *Nevada*, as already noted, was hit by bombs and somewhat severely damaged; the *Tennessee* and *Maryland* also were struck, but the bombs either were lighter or were poorly aimed, for they did no structural or other military damage such as would incapacitate the vessels. The *Pennsylvania*, in drydock, was hit more than once, but at least one of the bombs was a dud, and did only physical—as distinct from explosive—damage to the 14-inch forward turret which it struck. Examination of this missile disclosed that it was not a true bomb, but a 15-inch armor-piercing shell which had been modified by the attachment of wooden fins. The explosive charge was found to be forty years old.

Little  
damage to  
the *Tennes-*  
*see* and  
*Maryland*.

*Torpedoes*  
*proved*  
*deadly.*

The torpedoes also may have been old, but they proved deadly enough. One struck the *California* directly below the foremast and opened an oil bunker. The fuel spurted upwards and over the decks, and caught fire. Eyewitnesses say the battleship looked like a tanker which had been hit. A sailor, roasting and suffocating even in the

crow's nest, leaped almost a hundred feet into the water, covered as it was with blazing oil. He was forced to swim under water for the greater part of the distance to Ford Island. When he crawled ashore, all the hair had been burned from his head. But he was more fortunate than many of his shipmates. They were among the hundreds who were fatally or seriously wounded by burns during this morning of literally blazing action. Efforts to control the fires aboard the *California* required the flooding of many compartments which so decreased the ship's buoyancy that she settled slowly in the mud, with a pronounced list.

*Fires  
aboard the  
California.*

The *West Virginia* was the only one of our 16-inch gun "Treaty" battleships to suffer heavily from the Japanese attack. There was no doubt about the Japanese determination to destroy her. She was the target of especially concentrated assaults and was struck by four torpedoes and two heavy bombs. At least one of the torpedoes struck her aft, so that she began to settle by the stern. The damage control officer, realizing that the danger of serious damage on the inshore side of the ship was negligible, ordered the ballast tanks on this side flooded, to counterbalance the increased weight given to the exposed side by water rushing in through the four torpedo holes. In this way the *West Virginia* was kept on an even keel, whereas she might well have capsized, after the manner of the *Oklahoma*.

*The West  
Virginia  
suffered  
heavily.*

*Ballast tanks  
flooded.*

Command-  
ing officer  
struck by  
bomb  
fragment.

The commanding officer of the *West Virginia* was Captain Mervyn S. Bennion, who went to his station in the conning tower at the first alarm, but moved to the signal bridge, to have a less obstructed view in directing his ship, as soon as he realized that the fleet was under aerial attack. At the moment he stepped on to the exposed bridge the captain was struck by a fragment of the bomb which had ricocheted off the *Tennessee*, and the upper part of his abdomen was laid open. Despite the severity of his wounds, he retained consciousness and he refused to allow himself to be carried from the bridge for greater protection.

Commander  
Young an  
outstanding  
hero.

One of the outstanding heroes of the entire action was Commander (later Captain) Cassin Young, of the repair ship *Vestal*, which was moored alongside the *Arizona* and near the *Nevada*. Captain Young was to be killed in action eleven months later as commanding officer of the *San Francisco*. The citation accompanying the award of the Congressional Medal of Honor for valor as captain of the *Vestal* at Pearl Harbor reads: "He proceeded to the bridge and later took personal command of the anti-aircraft gun. When blown overboard by the blast of the forward magazine explosion of the *Arizona*, to which the *Vestal* was moored, he swam back to his own ship. The entire forward part of the *Arizona* was a blazing inferno with oil afire between the two ships. Despite severe enemy bombing and strafing at the time and his shocking experience of having been

Blown  
overboard.

blown overboard, Commander Young with extreme coolness and calmness moved his ship to an anchorage distant from the *Arizona*."

So much for Battleship Row. The Japanese had set out to break the backbone of American naval power in the Pacific. Of the nine battleships then in that ocean, eight had been at Pearl Harbor; one was damaged in drydock, one was destroyed, one was capsized, one was "sunk at one end," one was "sunk at one side," one was beached; only two were relatively unscathed. With the absent *Colorado*, they made a total of three capital ships capable of taking the seas within a day or two, but they were outnumbered four to one by the enemy's battle line. To that extent, the Japanese attack was, as the Navy officially concedes, "very successful." The fact that our aircraft carriers escaped was, as already mentioned, largely fortuitous. With the carriers, and on sundry other assignments away from the fleet's main base, were the bulk of our cruisers and destroyers. But there were other tempting targets which the enemy did not overlook.

*Three ships  
fit for duty.*

Militarily the least important of these was the gunnery training ship *Utah*, still bearing her old battleship name although long since demilitarized. Because she was lying at a carrier berth, the Japanese swooped in and fired torpedoes at her without taking time to check their identification, and after she capsized there was no way for

*Gunnery  
training ship  
mistaken  
for carrier.*

them to obtain confirmation. So Tokyo long nursed the illusion that a carrier had been sunk.

*Light cruiser*     The new light cruiser *Helena* was damaged by a tor-  
*Helena*  
*damaged.*     pedo, and the *Honolulu*, similar but slightly less modern,  
suffered a severe bomb hit. A third light cruiser, the 18-  
year-old *Raleigh*, of only 7,050 tons, absorbed a torpedo.

In drydock with the *Pennsylvania* were the destroyers *Cassin*, *Shaw* and *Downes*. The first and last were struck by bombs which detonated their magazines, fired their oil and rendered the vessels valueless except for scrap. The *Shaw* was hit in the bow and set afire. The flames could not be controlled with the limited water available, and gradually they crept toward the forward magazines. The explosion which resulted when the fire reached the stored ammunition was only less spectacular than that aboard the *Arizona*. An immense ball of fire ringed by heavy black smoke rose hundreds of feet into the air and then burst with a secondary explosion which knocked down scores of people within a radius of two or three hundred yards.

*Japanese*     The Japanese have admitted the loss of the entire  
*admit*  
*loss of*  
*submarines.*     force of "special submarines," and have variously de-  
scribed it as numbering five, seven and nine craft. They  
also conceded the loss of two standard submarines off  
Pearl Harbor; one of these evidently was the *Ward's*  
victim.

By far the greater part of the action described took place between 0755 and 0825. There was then a fifteen-



PEARL HARBOR, DECEMBER 7, 1941. U.S. BATTLESHIPS *WEST VIRGINIA*, *TENNESSEE* AND *ARIZONA* LIE STRICKEN AFTER THE JAPANESE ATTACK. THE *ARIZONA*, WHICH EXPLODED AND SANK, WAS A TOTAL LOSS (*Page 104*)

FROM AN OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH





minute lull, disturbed only by isolated aerial combats between the few defending American planes and stragglers among the Japanese fighters and dive bombers. This relative calm was ended by the appearance of horizontal bombers, which the Navy says "crossed and re-crossed their targets from various directions and caused serious damage." Dive bombers also reappeared within a short time, but dropped few bombs and devoted themselves largely to strafing. The main combat squadrons retired at 0945. Reconnaissance planes and nuisance raiders appeared three times around noon and once in the evening, but there was little more they could accomplish against a base which was now on the alert.

*Horizontal  
bombers.*

The American fleet had been "copenhagened," or, to take the more modern and precise analogy, "port-arthured." The only immediate, material cost to the Japanese was an undetermined number of aircraft, up to about sixty, and less than a dozen submarines, most of which were little better than expensive toys. But the enemy paid an incalculable price in psychological weapons. Until "this date which will live in infamy," the colossus of the Western Hemisphere had slumbered as long and almost as soundly as Rip Van Winkle. The fury which was aroused in the American people by this treacherous assault was worth more than any battleships. The loss of such antiques as the *Arizona* and *Oklahoma* meant far less than the loss of trained personnel, and on this point the cold analysis of the military mind found

*American  
fleet  
"copenna-  
genced."*

*Fury of the  
American  
people.*

ready agreement with the warm emotional reaction of the public. No less than 2,117 officers and men of the Navy and Marine Corps were killed, while 960 listed as missing must be given up for lost, shattered beyond recognition by bombs or torpedoes or entombed in the bowels of their ships.

*No need for  
propaganda.*

In the Navy, there was no need for a propaganda campaign to "Remember Pearl Harbor." It was impossible for the men of the fleet to put it out of their minds until they had avenged it, for it was by far the greatest disaster in American naval history.

# CONGRESS DECLARES A STATE OF WAR WITH JAPAN

(A.D. 1941)

**J**OINT RESOLUTION: *Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same.*

Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has committed unprovoked acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

*Japan's  
unprovoked  
acts of war.*

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and the President is hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

*Pledge for  
success.*

[December 8, 1941. President Roosevelt in an address before a joint session of Congress rehearses the facts of Japanese aggression against Hawaii, Guam, the Philippines, Wake Island, Midway Island, Hong Kong and Malaya, December 7 and 8, and asks that Congress recognize that a state of war exists between the United States and the Japanese Empire. On the same day, Congress declares war on Japan, unanimously except for one dissenting vote in the House.

December 8, also, England declares war on Japan. China declares war against Germany, Italy, and Japan. Free French Forces announce war with Japan. December 11. Germany and Italy declare war on the United States. December 17. American army, navy, and air force commanders in Hawaii are ousted. December 22. Wake Island is occupied by the Japanese. December 25. Hong Kong surrenders to Japan. December 27. Nippon planes bomb "open city" of Manila. January 1, 1942. Representatives of 26 countries at war with the Axis sign United Nations Declaration pledging no separate peace. January 2. Manila and Cavite naval base fall to Nipponese. February 1. Germany proclaims Vidkun Quisling Premier of Norway. February 15. Singapore surrenders unconditionally to Japanese forces. March 8. Rangoon falls to Nippon troops. April 9. Bataan falls to Japanese. April 18. Japanese mainland is bombed for first time by United States bombers under leadership of Major James H. Doolittle. May 6. Garrison at Corregidor yields to

*War comes  
to the  
Pacific.*

*Wake  
Island  
occupied by  
Japanese  
forces.*

*Japanese  
take Bataan.*

A.D. 1942

## A STATE OF WAR WITH JAPAN

Japanese. May 7-8. United States Navy defeats Japanese warships in Battle of the Coral Sea. May 16. Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby is made director of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, first women's army group ever organized in the United States. June 1. Mexico declares war on Germany, Italy, and Japan. June 3-6. United States warships and planes win victory over Japanese naval units in Battle of Midway.]

*United  
States  
victory in  
Battle of the  
Coral Sea.*



# THE KNOCKOUT AT MIDWAY

(A.D. 1942)

FLETCHER PRATT

SOME time between 8:30 and 9:00 on the morning of June 4th the crisis of the Battle of Midway had been passed, though no one in the American forces knew it at the time. The Japanese had struck hard with their sea-borne air forces at our island base and had damaged it; still more had they damaged the aerial resources of the defense. But our land-based aviators had also struck at them; they had lost at least one of their transports, one carrier at least was in very bad shape, a second damaged, there were bombs in other vessels all through the fleet; and their aerial losses were such that only victory could pay for them. They had not won this victory. They were accepting a drawn battle, turning round to come back later for another try—perhaps no later than the next day—when a force of which they were completely ignorant came rushing into action.

*Crisis  
passed.*

*Unexpected  
American  
attack.*

It was the American carrier striking force of Admiral Spruance.

Reprinted from *The Navy's War*, by Fletcher Pratt,  
published by Harper and Bros.



*Three  
carriers.*

This striking force, which you will recall had been hurrying toward Midway that eventful morning, had three carriers—*Yorktown*, *Hornet*, and *Enterprise*. The carriers were hull-down from one another, now somewhat northeast of Midway, still running fast toward the scene of action. In all the ships, pilots had been called from their bunks at three o'clock; by four they were in the ready-rooms, talking excitedly as weather information and the course and speed of the enemy were posted on the blackboards. On some vessels loudspeakers were tuned in on the battle frequency; everyone aboard could hear the shouts of Henderson's men as they went into their desperate adventure, the voice of a young B-17 pilot, breaking with emotion on the high note, the clear, rapid words of Colonel Sweeney making his assignments.

*Flash from  
high  
command.*

A flash from the high command said the Japs were attacking Midway. The Jap bombers making that attack must have been almost in sight of our ships behind the thin, chill haze that covered the morning where they were, and still the ships were pushing west at such speed that the destroyers were taking it green over their bows. At 7:30 the pilots manned planes and were summoned from them again, stamping the deck and apostrophizing the bridge—"Wouldn't you think at a time like this they'd get things straight up there?"

Just before nine Spruance got straight the two matters that had to be straight before he could release his thunderbolt. First, the enemy carriers had been found. Sec-

ond, his own carriers had moved into position where fighters could give the attacking planes cover all the way in. The American fleet had now run through its haze area into clear bright weather. "Pilots, man your planes!" *"Man your planes!"*

From Lieutenant Dickinson's unidentified carrier there were 14 torpedo planes, 36 dive bombers and fighter escort; from each of the other carriers about the same, to make up the greatest concentration of sea-air strength yet seen in war. The *Hornet's* Torpedo Squadron 8 was under Lieutenant Commander John C. Waldron; among the flying clouds of the weather front near the target he lost contact with the rest of our planes and could not find the enemy. Convinced that the course he had flown should have brought him to intercept the Japs near where they were last reported and that the clouds would not hide so great a concentration of ships, he reasoned that there was only one explanation for missing them—the Japs must have turned back whence they had come. *Japs turn back.* He turned northwest therefore, and a little after 11 o'clock found them, four carriers sliding along in a close group, with all the retinue of other ships around.

The long run had taken nearly all his gas, he had lost the fighters that were to cover him, and the Japs were now located. "Request permission to withdraw from action to refuel," he radioed. But the enemy had slipped observation once; they might do it again and return with their superior force. "Attack at once" radioed back the *"Attack at once."*

"Human Machine," though the men in those planes were his friends.

*Jap fleet  
bunched  
around  
carriers.*

Ensign George Gay was one of that squadron. He has described how they found the Jap fleet closely bunched round their carriers, a line less than ten miles long from end to end, to get the maximum effect from their AA fire, and how Zeros swarmed round the American planes as they went in, taking every advantage of the fact that a torpedo plane has to make a long level run before launching.

*Only  
survivor.*

"I'm hit," said Gay's machine-gunner over the interphone, but the plane still worked; Gay drove in toward the bows of an onrushing carrier, dropped his missile, swung up and along her side toward the stern. A Jap shell went off right in the middle of the rudder controls, burning his leg, and at almost the same moment a bullet hit his left arm. The plane stalled and struck the water, already several miles astern of the carrier. As Gay came up, the tail of the machine stuck out of the water, but of his gunner and radioman there was no sign; they were gone with every other man of Torpedo 8. Gay was the only survivor. A bag floated free from the wreck with a rubber raft in it, and a small black bombardier's cushion. He grabbed the cushion, bandaged his wounds under water, and looked up in time to catch the most spectacular sight of the war.

Lieutenant Commander Clarence McCluskey with Bombing 6 and Scouting 6 (all carrying bombs this day)

had found the Japs and was attacking—this time with fighter cover. The undamaged carrier *Kaga* was making her full 30 knots into the wind, trying to shoot off her re-fueled fighters; for the attack had come as a dreadful surprise to the Japs, who thought they were done with Midway. The first three bombs missed, and back on our carriers the radios picked up McCluskey's fervent swearing. But of the next three, one landed among the airplanes on the *Kaga's* afterdeck, lighting a fire that burned with electric brilliance even in the candid daylight; one went through into the hangar deck to toss a column of debris aloft; and one set light to the planes forward, ready to fly. Then there were hits and hits till the *Kaga* blazed from stem to stern and the last man in the formation gave his load of bombs to a destroyer, which stopped with smoke and steam gushing from the engine room. Gay saw a prodigious column of flame shoot up from the *Kaga* and even at his distance felt a shock through the water. Her magazines had gone.

*Surprise  
attack.*

*The Kaga  
ablaze.*

When he looked at the other carriers he could see the *Akagi* burning fiercely, fired by Lieutenant Best's Bombing 6, with nobody knows how many hits as she sought in vain to maneuver with that torpedo hole in her side. The *Soryu* too was alight; she had been hit by Bombing 3 (normally the *Saratoga's* squadron, but the Navy has not said what ship they flew from June 4th). And two of the battleships were burning. All across the horizon a long line of warships were rocking and blazing on the

*Two  
battleships  
burning.*

*Torpedo  
planes  
lost.*

slow Pacific swell. Down near the water our torpedo planes from our other carriers were coming in, much harried by Zeros, which seemed to have taken them as their especial targets and let the ships care for themselves against the bombers—one reason why it was bomber's field day while the torpedo men suffered. Out of 41 American torpedo planes that left the carriers that morning only 6 got home, and nobody knows whether they accomplished much or little. No one has much detail of any kind on this last stage of the attack. Gay saw only that line of burning giants with destroyers hurrying round to pump and salvage. Dickinson, from his more comprehensive point of view aloft, saw the undamaged *Hiryu* hurrying away into the mists. The second phase of the battle was over and the Japanese were a beaten fleet.

*Japanese  
beaten.*

It must have been about this time that the radios carried the message reported by Correspondent Casey—the gasp of a Japanese scout as he came through a cloud: “My God, the whole United States fleet is out here!”

*The  
Hiryu  
still intact.*

But there was life in those Japanese yet; there was one punch left in the *Hiryu*. Our carriers had turned and were steaming southwestward, keeping their distance from those fast Japanese battleships, since they had nothing stronger than fighters left aboard and nothing better than cruisers to cover them. (The *Scharnhorst* had sunk the *Glorious* in a few minutes off Norway under such conditions.) The three carrier groups were spread very wide, hull down from one another, which kept the Japs

from hitting all of them at once as theirs had been hit, but also increased the enemy's chances of finding and hitting at least one—a variation in method that will doubtless long exercise tacticians. Put it that this was a special case; there was no longer any chance of concealment in that clear, still day with our planes battering the Japanese ships, and Spruance's spread formation allowed the fighter planes from all to go to the aid of the first carrier attacked.

It was the *Yorktown*, the northernmost ship, that was struck just after 1 o'clock by 36 dive bombers from the *Hiryu*, which may have followed some of our planes home from their foray. "Stand by to repel air attack," said her loudspeakers, and the fighter patrols of the other carriers joined the *Yorktown's*. "It was damned spectacular," said an officer of one carrier. "On the horizon there would be a flash of flame and a mass of thick black smoke plunging downward to the sea. There would be another flash and another downward pencil; finally it looked like the sky over there was covered by a curtain of smoke streamers."

*The  
Yorktown  
is struck by  
Hiryu  
bombers.*

Only seven Jap planes came through that hornet's nest of American fighters, but they came in a mood of Oriental desperation, and despite losing three more at the ship, they planted bombs. One hit the *Yorktown* just abaft the island, smashed up the guns there, and started a fire; another hit in the forward elevator well and started more fire from the tanks of the planes on

*Oriental  
desperation.*

the hangar deck; and still another bomb went through the side of the funnel, blowing out the fires in the ship's engine room. The *Yorktown* stopped; watching her from the *Hornet's* deck they could see a tall column of smoke shoot straight up. But on the damaged carrier the fires were got in hand and Engineer Officer John F. Delaney said he could work her up to fifteen knots after repairs.

*American  
jubilation.*

Among our other ships the mood had become a kind of restrained jubilation. They had heard the words and broken exclamations on battle frequency—"Take the one on the right, Joe." "Boy, look at that bastard burn." "Zero on your tail, Zero on your tail"—and a few fliers' reports were on hand. Everyone was saying our big attack on the Japanese fleet had been a success, though how much of a success would be uncertain till the planes came trailing in just before and during the attack on the *Yorktown*.

*Torpedo 8  
all down.*

But the *Hornet's* planes did not come home at all; Torpedo 8 was all down, as we have seen, and the ship's scout-bombing groups had traveled just enough farther than the rest to leave them short of juice to get home. A few crash-landed at sea; the rest made Midway with the last drops in their tanks, two falling short of the runway by exactly the 300 feet which brought them down in the lagoon, whence their pilots waded ashore. The *Yorktown's* planes came back in twos and threes, many of them hurt, but Bombing 3 had suffered little, and Bomb-

ing 6 was there, all in formation as though returning from a training flight.

They and all the other planes in the fleet still fit for work were refueled and remunitioned, while the pilots grabbed sandwiches and coffee, and then took off again to get that last Jap carrier, the *Hiryu*, and break up her flight deck. She and her escort, which now seems to have included most of the support force (since it had two battleships and a heavy cruiser besides destroyers), had steamed right away from the rest of the dolorous Japanese armada, northeastward. A good trick if it worked, but we had practical command of the air now, and our scouts found her. Whoever it was that first saw her, a *Yorktown* man, Lieutenant Sam Adams, scuttling along the edge of the clouds with his radio key open, described the course, speed, and composition of the *Hiryu* and her escorting group of ships so accurately that the tactical officers back on our carriers could assign precise targets to every man. Thus it happened that this was the most carefully worked-out attack of them all.

*Planes  
refueled.*

*Carefully  
worked-out  
attack.*

It must have been 2:30 in the afternoon, or later, before our attacking group of planes got away; and since the two fleets were now farther apart and steaming away from each other, it must have been after 4:00 before they reached the *Hiryu* group. Now the day-long losing battle that Japanese airmen had fought began to have its effect. Their fighter opposition was weak. Their anti-aircraft fired furiously enough, but the men who fired must

*Japanese  
fighter  
opposition  
weak.*



*The  
Hiryu  
bombarded.*

have reached the point of black despair over the endless procession of star-marked planes that came out of the clouds to pound their dying ships. Hardly a blow from all that group of American planes missed its target; the *Hiryu* was hit and hit again with bombs timed to pierce her deck till she burned from end to end. Both battleships were hit, the cruiser and the destroyer were hit, while our loss was next to nothing.

*Anti-  
aircraft  
bursts.*

By now it was after four o'clock. At about this time a flight of Army Flying Fortresses from Oahu, which had used their immense range to run 1000 miles or more to the battle area, were getting low on gas and had seen neither friend nor enemy through the broken clouds. "Prepare to drop bombs," said the squadron leader. They all thought they were going to jettison and make the best of their way back to base, but the lead plane dipped and as they followed it down, "in the distance we saw hundreds of fighter planes hovering above a line of burning ships," says one of them. "Someone said on the interphone, 'Everybody at battle stations, here come the Zeros.'" But the Zeros did not come, and a moment later the Army men realized delightedly that what had looked like Zeros were only the anti-aircraft bursts from ships whose fighter protection was now 500 fathoms down at the bottom of the Pacific, all of them blazing away in wild nervousness 20 miles in advance of the attackers.

"No undamaged carriers were visible," and the two battleships in sight were both burning. The fliers chose targets of opportunity. Three big bombs completed the ruin of the *Akagi*; a heavy cruiser was hit and a light cruiser. One bomb struck square on the fantail of a destroyer, which was halfway under and covered by a cloud of smoke as the planes soared away to make emergency landings on Midway.

*No undamaged carriers.*

But in their last gasp of the day the Japs got the *Yorktown*. A flight of 15 torpedo planes from the *Hiryu* crossed our attack force somewhere in the skies (why they did not come simultaneously with their bombers is another of the minor mysteries of Midway) and came in on the damaged carrier with fighter escort while their own ships were getting the works.

*Japs get the Yorktown.*

Seven Jap torpedo planes and some of the fighters went down in a savage dogfight; three more fell to the carrier's AA fire before they could launch their torpedoes, and all the rest were lost in the pull-out, lost to American fighters who bravely entered their own barrage to get at the enemy. (At least one of them, Ensign Tootle, came down in the water with an engine knocked dead by that barrage.) Five torpedoes streaked toward the *Yorktown*. If she had had her full speed she might have avoided them; if Engineer Delaney had not given her 21 knots, instead of the 15 he promised, they would all have hit her. As it was, two struck, one forward, one amidships on the port side. The engines stopped, the

*Engines stop.*

ship took a heavy list. "My God, she's going to capsize," said a lieutenant on one of the escorting destroyers.

*Order to  
abandon  
ship.*

She was not going to capsize; but she rolled out black smoke and Captain Buckmaster sadly gave the order to abandon ship as men fought their way up through dark compartments to slide down ropes and nets for the waiting destroyers to pick them up. She was not going to capsize, though her deck lay at so sharp an angle that her planes could not land, and one of them, coming in on the *Hornet*, caused that ship her only casualties of the battle. (He was a fighter pilot, badly wounded, and he lurched against the firing button of his .50, unconscious as his injured plane crumpled at contact with the deck, and sent off slugs that cut down eight men.)

*Day of  
battle  
over.*

The day of battle was over. On the *Yorktown*, black and monstrous in the twilight, damage-control parties were pumping and shoring to bring the ship to an even keel. A few officers were drinking coffee in the ward-room of the *Hornet*, their faces drawn, their conversation the disjointed sentences of men half dead with fatigue as they discussed the Headquarters announcement that had come through the loudspeaker to quiet rumor: "Four enemy aircraft carriers attacked and severely damaged . . . our losses in planes were heavy . . . one of our carriers out of action." The depression of weariness had followed the fury. "We sent off fifty-three dive bombers and only got five back. If their admiral has any sense

he'll send those battleships in on us tonight. Has anybody heard? What's left at the Island?"

Back at Honolulu the Army was preparing the broad- *Trouble-*  
cast that was to cause so much trouble through the im- *some*  
pression of the uninformed that it was claiming all the *broadcast.*  
credit for victory.

At Honolulu Admiral Nimitz, and out at Midway Captain Simard were trying to reconcile the reports of men who had seen the enemy only during the few seconds while they were flashing past at 300 miles an hour under intense attack. More reports kept coming in; PBV's were out all over the ocean that night and more were going out, some getting hit and coming down on the water, some coming down without being hit, to conserve their last precious fuel by taxiing in. At Midway the oil fire still burned—the Flying Fortresses had used it as a beacon—and everyone was working like mad at the task of repair, pausing now and then to snatch something to eat from the kettles that boiled in the open. "Before that attack the contractors were just contractors, but after it they just couldn't do enough," said one of the Marines who saw them. What was left of Marine Bombing 241 had had its planes fixed up and would go out presently under Major Norris for a night attack in that worldless black, each plane steering on the faint blue exhaust flare of the one ahead, and Major Norris would not come back.

*Oil fire  
still  
burning  
at Midway.*

*Marine  
Bombing  
241 goes  
out again.*

*Completeness of Jap defeat.*

It was a twilight of tension and doubt, through which no one at Midway or Honolulu or in the fleet realized what a state of material and moral disintegration the Japanese were in after having suffered a defeat beyond palliation. Our fleet steamed steadily east and away from an enemy who might be coming back for a surface attack by night, when our aerial mastery would be void. No one knew—no one could know then—that under this same twilight Lieutenant Commander William H. Brockman's submarine, which had all day been driven down by repeated depth-charge attacks, had at last found the Japs disorganized enough to permit her to close in on one of the smoke clouds that lay close to the water. Under it was the badly damaged *Soryu*, "the Blue Dragon," still burning but moving slowly, shepherded by two big flotilla leaders. The submarine fired two torpedoes; the Blue Dragon vomited flame and capsized into it.

*The Kaga and Akagi sink.*

Ensign Gay could not communicate with the high command to tell how, as he clung to his cushion, Japanese planes droned through the evening sky, far and near, seeking hopelessly for a place to land. Off at the limit of his vision a cruiser pulled alongside the burning *Kaga* and fired salvos into her till the derelict sank; farther on the horizon he saw the *Akagi* tip up her bows and dive. It was growing dark; patches of glare appeared on the clouds where the Japs were using searchlights.

One of them was red and unsteady, perhaps the glow of a burning ship.

Ensign Gay inflated his life raft, climbed in, and in a matter-of-fact manner began to patch the holes.

Toward morning—the morning of June 5th—a Japanese submarine, which apparently had not received the bad news, surfaced near Midway and played sand castles on the island with a few shells. Shore batteries fired at the flash and chivvied her away just before the dawn patrols went out. The weather front was now edging southward and close to the water, with squalls and rough sea under it, the worst of flying conditions, but the reports that came in were more encouraging than anyone had dared hope. Nowhere near Midway was there any sign of Japanese ships afloat, only a great amount of debris, oil slicks and black Japanese life rafts, always empty. A few American life rafts, tenanted, to which destroyers and PBY's were directed. No sign of any Jap carriers or aircraft of whatever species; and when contact was finally made with their striking force off to the northwest it was seen to be hurrying home at the best speed of which its cripples were capable, already far distant.

*Japanese submarine.*

*No sign of enemy ships near Midway.*

*Crippled force hurries home.*

The Japanese occupation force, presumably held back by the slower transports, was still clear of the weather front and now nearest of all the enemy. Some fliers thought they recognized, among its escort, vessels that had been with the *Hiryu* the night before, which could

*American  
carrier  
group  
starts chase.*

be true if they had been drawn in as rear guard after leaving the place where that last carrier sank during the night. Admiral Spruance turned his carrier group round and swung full speed into the pursuit despite his loss in planes, the *Hornet's* bombers from Midway joining at sea. But they had a chase ahead of them before they could reach striking range again.

The Army Flying Fortresses, however, had range enough; and Lieutenant Colonel Brook Allen, who had been a member of the Pearl Harbor investigating committee, took them out again, while the indefatigable Marines of Midway boiled out also, two formations of six dive bombers each. The target of the latter was a cruiser and battleship, somewhat separated from the other Japanese about 140 miles west of Midway. This would be some more of the *Hiryu's* escort; slanting down southward across the front of action they would just about reach that spot by 8 o'clock on the morning of the 5th, the hour when the Marines hit them.

*No  
fighter  
defense.*

The Japs put up no fighter defense but there was "heavy and accurate anti-aircraft fire" and 12 planes were not enough to saturate it to ineffectiveness. Captain Richard Fleming's plane was hit—the squadron leader; the others saw it begin to burn, not too late for Fleming to jump, but he chose rather to hold to his dive and plant a beautiful direct hit on the cruiser before he plunged into the sea. The others all missed the dodging ship, but

some by so narrow a margin that she counts as at least a badly damaged ship, her seams opened.

An hour or two later Allen's Flying Fortresses came in on the same group, now augmented by having fallen in with another contingent. "It was duck soup that day," said the Army pilots with relish. "They didn't have any more fighters." The cruiser that Fleming had hit was recognizably in trouble. Of course the Army men picked on that cripple, giving her a direct hit amidships and another right under the stern that left her with a heavy list, spinning circles like a teetotum. That was the last anybody saw of that ship, and maybe she went down; but no claims are made, nor are there any claims about the other cruiser that was damaged in the same attack.

That was the end of action for the day. The Japanese were moving away so fast that not even Fortresses could get back to Midway and load up again in time to catch them. The rest of the pursuit was up to Spruance, steaming hard all through that afternoon and night, though his destroyers were getting low on fuel and in the abstract there was no reason why the big Japanese gunnery ships should not assemble and turn back to hammer at our carriers, lose or retrieve all they had lost.

In the concrete, as the human calculating mechanism on the American flagship's bridge well knew, Japanese boldness exists only as it involves some element of trickery. The commander of one of their submarines was bold; he had traced the *Yorktown*, making her way

*"Duck soup."*

*Spruance  
in hot  
pursuit.*

*Japanese  
trickery.*



toward Pearl Harbor in tow, with the destroyer *Hammann* alongside. By morning of the 6th they had got the *Yorktown* on an even keel; they were going to save her up to the moment when that submarine fired four torpedoes in a burst.

Two hit the *Hammann*. She went down in 90 seconds and lost many of her crew when the depth charges blew while they were in the water. The other two torpedoes hit the *Yorktown* and made salvage futile, though she floated till another dawn before taking down her torn battle flags. Three men trapped in a compartment, in answer to the telephoned news of their plight just before they went down with the ship, said "We've got a hell of a good acey-deucey game going down here," which will doubtless be accepted among the best naval remarks of history.

Three  
men  
trapped.

But it was not the final remark of the battle; it was not even the final remark of that phase of the battle. The destroyers of the *Yorktown's* escort were finishing that phase by blowing up the bold submarine that had torpedoed her; and about the same time, several hundred miles to the west, the dive bombers of Admiral Spruance were having another phase to themselves.

Destroyers  
blow up Jap  
submarine.

On the evening of June 5th a reconnaissance report spoke of an undamaged enemy carrier off to the north, under the weather edge, and the planes flew off to seek it. But it was a disappointment; no carrier, no sign of one, and no Jap planes. They had to console themselves

by attacking a light cruiser, but she was so well handled in the bad weather and bad light as to escape with minor damage. But the next morning (as the *Yorktown* was going down) they were not disappointed; they picked up the Japanese rear guard in fairly clear weather, and went for it with 1000-pounders, each carrier vying as to which could put on the most perfect textbook attack under textbook conditions with no enemy planes to interfere. *Japanese rear guard attacked.*

What made the occasion perfect from our officers' point of view was that this rear guard contained the cheat-cruisers, *Mikuma* and *Mogami*, the ships the Japs built just after they got home from the London naval conference. Remember? They had been singing about possible aggression then, and had persuaded our statesmen not to build anything beyond light cruisers. On paper these two ships were 8,500-tonners of that class; on the ocean beneath our dive bombers they were 13,000-ton heavies. *Mikuma and Mogami.*

"At least two bomb hits were scored on each cruiser," says the communiqué in a masterpiece of understatement, for there were 20 planes in the *Mikuma* attack alone, and she is the ship that shows up in the last photographs of the action leaning over on one side, half her double funnel blown away, smoking decks all twisted and bent, guns acockbill, holes in her side with the torpedo tubes dangling from them, and what is left of her crew gathered aft to wait for the finish. The *Mikuma* went down sometime that afternoon; and the *Mogami* *Understatement.*

was left in such evil case that the communiqué claimed her as sunk too (though later evidence makes it possible that she may have got away).

*Survivors  
picked  
up.*

Now our carriers were working into the region where land-based Japanese planes could get at them, so they turned away home and the battle was over, all but the business of picking up survivors. "The pleasantest thing of all," said one of the *Hornet's* men, "was to hear for days afterward that one after another of our fliers was found, till our losses were really very small."

*Japanese  
navy's first  
crushing  
defeat.*

The high command doubtless had a due regard for that feature; but its pleasure was chiefly derived from the fact that the Japanese navy had taken its first indubitable, irrefutable, crushing defeat since the day when Hideoshi tried to make the Korean nightingale sing, back in the Middle Ages. They had attempted to use command of the sea without first attaining it, a job for which no boldness and no trickery is adequate, as a little reading of Admiral Mahan would have told them. But Admiral Mahan was an American, and it is probably beneath the dignity of the sons of heaven to accept advice from inferior races.

*Marines  
land at  
Guadalcanal.*

[July 1, 1942. Sevastopol falls to Germans after 25-day siege. Rommel's drive forces British troops to retreat to El Alamein, Egypt. July 31. Mildred H. McAfee is named commanding officer of the United States Navy's women's reserve. August 7. Marines land at Guadalcanal.

August 9. Civil disobedience riots flare in India. British Government arrests Gandhi. August 15. Nazis launch offensive against Stalingrad. August 19. Canadian and British commandos stage historic raid on Dieppe. October 9. Ethiopia joins the United Nations. October 11-12. Sea battle off Cape Esperance in the Solomons results from Japanese attempt to land reinforcements on Guadalcanal. October 23. British Eighth Army launches huge offensive against German forces in Egypt. October 26. United States carrier *Hornet* is lost in Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands. November 7. United States armies land in North Africa.] *Raid on Dieppe.*



# THE FIRST "SECOND FRONT"

(A.D. 1942)

SIDNEY B. FAY

ON THE night of November 7, just eleven months after Pearl Harbor, the world was electrified by President Roosevelt's announcement that a "powerful American force," under the command of Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower, was landing on the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of French North Africa. *Americans land in North Africa.*

The expedition was the largest single amphibious armada in history. It comprised more than 500 troop and supply ships and a vast Anglo-American protecting force of more than 350 warships of all kinds, including aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines. Divided into two convoys, it then established beach-head landings at a dozen points in French Morocco and Algeria, and quickly secured possession of five airfields and all the important ports and naval bases. *Two convoys.*

By 7 A.M. on November 11 (Armistice Day), only 76 hours after the first landings, the Commander-in-

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*French  
opposition  
ceases.*

Chief of all the Vichy-French forces, Admiral Darlan, was being "entertained by American officers in Algiers" and ordered all French opposition in Africa to cease. General Eisenhower could announce that the fighting in Morocco and Algeria was at an end. The French North African Empire, safe in American hands, would be preserved for return to France and would not fall under the Axis heel. The vast undertaking had resulted in an amazingly quick success. Roosevelt and Churchill had beaten Hitler and Mussolini to it.

*Rommel  
driven  
from  
Egypt.*

This Anglo-American occupation of French North Africa was beautifully timed to coincide with the British Eighth Army's precipitous expulsion of Marshal Erwin Rommel's Afrika Corps from Egypt, a thousand miles to the East. His routed army was in danger of being gripped by powerful Anglo-American pincers—if he did not get timely reinforcements and if the Americans could push by the Axis troops in French Tunisia and Italian Tripoli.

*Real  
second  
front.*

The establishment of this new United Nations Mediterranean front was not exactly the kind of second front for which the hard-pressed Russians and so many others had been hoping, because it did not mean the instant invasion of German-held soil and the instant recall of German troops from the Russian front for defense against attacks nearer home. But the new American Front was nevertheless a real second front, because it laid the foundation for a later but not far distant invasion of the Axis

territories, which would eventually cause the Germans to recall a good part of their forces from Stalingrad and the Caucasus.

Why the decision was made for a Mediterranean front, and how the details were secretly and successfully worked out was promptly revealed by its two chief authors.

"The President of the United States is the author of this mighty undertaking, and in all of it I have been his active and ardent lieutenant," Prime Minister Churchill generously declared at a jubilant Mansion House dinner in London on November 10. Next day he stirred the House of Commons with a thrilling review in greater detail. Simultaneously in Washington at a press conference, President Roosevelt more fully told the "now it can be told" story. *President Roosevelt responsible.*

A couple of weeks after Pearl Harbor the President invited Churchill and his staff to visit Washington for a Christmas conference. The time had come for joint planning by the two countries that had the greatest combination of military and naval forces. The leaders of the two nations then discussed the desirability of offensive action. They considered various possibilities, especially a large offensive action across the English channel. It was considered in the light of the problems involved—sufficiency of munitions and supplies, particularly airplanes, to make the operation reasonably sure of success and the shipping of war supplies to Europe in time. *Allied conference.*



The military opinion was that the proposal was feasible, and a good deal of work toward this end was done. But the more it was studied, the more apparent it became that, because of physical limitations (production of munitions, the training of enough men, and adequate shipping transportation across the Atlantic) an attack across the Channel could not be carried out in 1942.

*Transportation  
problem  
serious.*

The transportation problem was particularly serious. During the spring months the German submarines were carrying out increasingly destructive attacks on unprotected shipping routes along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States and in the Caribbean. This caused a very dangerous rise in merchant shipping losses, notably of oil tankers, which reached a peak figure in this area alone of nearly 600,000 gross tons in June. Total United Nations shipping losses all over the seven seas amounted to nearly 900,000 gross tons in June. Ships were being sunk much faster than they could be replaced by new construction. But by August new construction of Liberty ships and other merchant vessels had rapidly increased, and more effective measures were successfully taken to check the submarine menace. For the month of September the sharply rising curve of total United Nations new construction of merchant shipping—nearly 1,000,000 gross tons—was safely above the then descending curve of total losses—about 300,000 gross tons.

*Shipping  
losses.*

In view of the physical limitations, the President asked Churchill to return to Washington at the end of May or

the beginning of June to consider whether there should be a large-scale offensive, which would be necessary if an attack were to be made across the Channel some time about the middle of 1943, or whether it would be wiser to start in 1942 an offensive on a smaller scale, in which the problems of production, training and transportation would not be so great.

The President and Churchill, aided by the combined Chiefs of Staff, surveyed the possibility of an offensive more limited in scope. By the end of June agreement was reached in favor of an African offensive. By the end of July, certain fundamentals, such as the points of attack, the numbers of men required, and shipping facilities, had been determined upon. The preparations were secretly and rapidly pushed forward. *African offensive agreed upon.*

While plans for the great armada were being laid behind closed doors in London and Washington, an invaluable American agent, Robert D. Murphy, formerly consul at the Embassy in Paris, was working with some two score under-cover men in Algeria and Morocco, distributing food and other supplies, making friends, and obtaining exact information about local conditions. Similarly Major General Mark Clark, with a few officers in civilian clothes, established friendly contact with many French colonial army officers. These Americans were beating the Germans at the "tourist" game, and making pretty sure that an American Expeditionary Force on *Preparations made.*

behalf of French freedom would probably not meet with any serious local opposition.

Meanwhile in June, in addition to the shipping losses noted above, two ominous pieces of news arrived in Washington. The Germans had begun their second great drive against Russia. It aimed to encircle Moscow, capture the Soviet capital from the rear, and cut it off from sending reinforcements for the defense of the Caucasus and the Baku oil fields. It appeared to be one arm of a gigantic German pincers movement to crush the whole United Nations position in the Middle East, the other arm being Rommel's simultaneous drive against Egypt. This drive brought the Afrika Corps to within 75 miles of Alexandria at El Alamein and resulted in the costly surrender of 30,000 British at Tobruk.

In June no one could foresee that Hitler's aim in Russia was doomed to failure—that he could not encircle Moscow, and that his Germans, Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians and Slovaks would be eventually stalled at Stalingrad and in the Caucasus foothills 300 miles short of Baku. But in view of the great strength of the German attack, Stalin naturally wanted a second front on the English Channel that would reduce the pressure on his own forces.

Since this second front was deemed impracticable for 1942, Churchill did the next three best things that he could for Stalin. British forces in Egypt had already been diverted in part to the Middle East in case the Ger-

*German  
drive  
against  
Russia.*

*Stalin's  
desire for  
Channel  
second  
front.*

mans should strike at the Caucasus. The Churchill-Roosevelt June communiqué on the "agreement of the urgency of a second front" served to worry the Germans and force them to leave 33 divisions and a third of their bombs in the West. And Churchill himself decided to go to Moscow and explain fully and frankly to Stalin the whole secret Anglo-American strategy.

*Churchill  
visits  
Moscow.*

This visit in August did a great deal to prevent possible friction between the Anglo-Saxon powers and their Russian allies, as is evident from Stalin's masterly and understanding speech of November 6. Churchill also assured the House of Commons when he said: "I have a solid belief in the wisdom and good faith of this outstanding man [Stalin], and although the news that I brought was not welcome and not considered adequate, nevertheless the fact remains that we parted good friends. The Russians bore their disappointment like men. They faced the enemy, and now they have reached winter successfully, although we were unable to give them the help they so earnestly demanded, and, had it been physically practicable, we would have so gladly afforded."

*Allied  
under-  
standing.*

Incidentally, it may be noted that, although Roosevelt and Churchill had been unable to open a Channel second front in the summer of 1942, they did send Russia large supplies. In the twelve months ending in October, 1942, they had sent to Russia vast quantities of supplies, including 3,052 planes, 4,048 tanks, 30,031 vehicles and 831,000 tons of miscellaneous shipments of shells, ma-

*Supplies  
sent to  
Russia.*

chines, machine tools, foodstuffs, medicines and metals. All this did not reach Russia, because some of it was sent to the bottom by German planes and submarines which attacked convoys on the way to Murmansk.

*Situation  
serious  
in Egypt.*

As part of his trip to Moscow in late August Churchill visited Egypt. Here the situation had been serious. In the spring of 1942 Rommel had received large reinforcements and new equipment for the pincers drive that he hoped would carry him through Egypt to the Middle East when the Germans had taken Moscow and would be advancing to the Baku oil fields. This was the moment when British troops had been sent from Egypt to reinforce the Middle East.

*Genius  
for desert  
warfare.*

With a genius for desert warfare, where tanks can sail over great areas of sand like ships over the sea, Rommel swept 400 miles eastward over Libya into Egypt. On June 21 he captured the important port of Tobruk and took 30,000 British prisoners there. His new 88-millimeter guns, far superior to the British 25-pounders, knocked out the British and American tanks.

*Firm stand  
at El  
Alamein.*

General Auchinleck then prudently withdrew the battered British Eighth Army further eastward to El Alamein. Here he was able to make a firm stand because the desert narrows to a passage only 30 miles wide. It was a short front which he had enough troops to defend. Rommel could no longer make his wide sweeping tank attacks, because the British right on the El Alamein line was protected by the Mediterranean, and the left flank

by the swampy and impassable Qattara Depression. Here the British were standing firm, but only 75 miles from Alexandria and liable to a new attack by Rommel, when Churchill arrived.

How this British Eighth Army received new and better tanks to be used in a counteroffensive against Rommel was revealed by Churchill on November 11: "On the dark day when the news of the fall of Tobruk came in, I was with President Roosevelt in his room at the White House. The House of Commons knows how bitter a blow this was, but nothing could have exceeded the delicacy and kindness of our American friends. They had no thought but to help. Their very best tanks [the 32-ton General Shermans with 75-millimeter turret guns which could shoot in any direction] were just coming out of the factories. The first batch of them had been newly placed in the hands of their divisions who had been waiting for them. The President took a large number of these tanks back from the troops to whom they had just been given. They were placed on board ship in the early days of July and they sailed direct to Suez under American escort. The President also sent us a large number of self-propelled 105-millimeter guns which are most useful weapons for contending with the 88-millimeter high velocity guns of which the Germans have made so much use. One ship of this precious convoy was sunk by a U-boat. Immediately, without being asked,

*New and better tanks.*

*105-millimeter guns.*

the United States replaced it with another ship carrying an equal number of both weapons."

*Alexander  
and Mont-  
gomery  
receive  
new posts.*

Churchill believed that the morale of the British Eighth Army would be improved by a change of commanders. In place of General Claude Auchinleck he appointed General Harold R. L. G. Alexander as Commander in Chief of the British forces in the entire Middle East, and Lieutenant General Bernard L. Montgomery as field commander of the Eighth Army. Alexander had distinguished himself at Dunkirk, in Burma and elsewhere. Montgomery, affectionately known to his men as "Monty," was 54 years old, an Ulsterman and the son of the Bishop of Tasmania, a teetotaler and a non-smoker. He had iron nerves, absolute calmness and self-control, and had the reputation of riding in front line tanks to see for himself exactly what the situation was at critical points.

Before leaving Egypt, Churchill spent a night with the troops in the desert. He left them with the directive that their prime duty was to take or destroy Rommel's army, together with all his supplies and establishments in Egypt and Libya.

*Offensive  
started.*

On the night of October 23, with bagpipes playing, General Montgomery started his carefully planned offensive. His men first had to creep forward pushing little machines along the ground, as one would push a lawnmower; a magnet sounded a buzz in the earphone when it passed over the mines that Rommel had buried all

along his front to blow up enemy tanks. When mines were found, they were dug out of the sand, the fuses were removed, and they were carried to the rear, three or four by a single soldier. Lighted torches or red tape then marked for the British tanks the safe passages cleared of mines. *Passages cleared of mines.*

Then the British infantry attacked, cutting barbed wire and seizing the enemy's front-line positions by hand-to-hand fighting. At the same time they were protected by a heavy barrage fire from the British guns in the rear. The infantry thus opened the way for the tanks, instead of tanks opening the way for the infantry as in most battles of the Second World War up to this time. *Infantry opens way for tanks.* After several days of this slow progress, the British tanks finally crashed through the middle of the El Alamein line. A couple of thousand Germans were cut off near the Mediterranean. Three Italian divisions were cut off near the Qattara Depression. They were left deserted by the Germans and were rounded up later by the British.

Rommel was forced to a rapid retreat which gradually became a rout. His fleeing trucks and guns were mercilessly pounded by British and American planes which enjoyed a decided air superiority. It was like the situation before Dunkirk, except that now it was the Germans who were in retreat and were being bombed from the air. Bombers also destroyed the supplies at his rear. *Rommel in retreat.*

By November 13 Rommel's battered army, or what was left of it, had been driven out of Egypt through the



*Germans  
seek  
escape  
route.*

half-blocked "Hellfire Pass" between Egypt and Libya. It was apparently trying to escape across the Libyan Desert, either to make a stand at El Agheila, south of Bengazi, where there is a narrow passage favorable for defense, or to escape to Italian bases in Tripoli. Meanwhile, American troops were advancing toward Tunis in a pincers movement aimed at closing in on the Tunisian capital from the west.

*Severe  
German  
losses.*

Rommel had already lost Tobruk and was destroying stores in other ports to prevent them from falling into British hands. Of his army, which had consisted of 4 German and 7 Italian divisions, he had lost 59,000 men killed or taken prisoner by the British, 500 tanks and 1,000 guns. The British losses were only 13,600 men. President Roosevelt's wisdom in sending the needed tanks and guns to the Eighth Army was now clear.

*Strategic  
value of  
Tunisia.*

Egypt was henceforth free from danger. Though Rommel's force was routed, it was not yet annihilated. It might have considerable reserves, and Hitler might try to send it reinforcements. Whether Rommel's and the other Axis forces would be totally eliminated from North Africa would depend on whether the Armies of the United Nations could occupy Tunisia. If they succeeded in doing so, they would acquire thirteen valuable airfields and the strong naval base of Bizerta. With these in their hands their land-based planes could protect United Nations shipping in the Mediterranean. The transportation difficulty would be greatly eased, because

the route from New York to Egypt via the Mediterranean is less than half as long as the route around South Africa. Bombers based on the North African coast could also easily strike at Axis troops in southern France, Italy and the Balkans, and "soften up" these regions preparatory to establishing a real second front in Europe itself.

The meticulous care with which the great Anglo-American armada was prepared was rewarded by the success with which landings were made and the small extent of the opposition encountered. It was wise that the first occupation troops were Americans instead of British. Some French army officers and most French naval officers disliked the British because of the long rivalry between the two empires, because of French suspicions of British imperialism, and because of the British attacks on Dakar and Oran in 1940. The Americans, on the other hand, ever since the days of Lafayette had been the friends of the French. We had aided them in the First World War. We were not suspected of having any imperialist aims in Europe.

*American  
troops  
land first.*

On the Atlantic coast of Morocco American troops under the immediate command of Major General George S. Patton made landings at Agadir south of the High Atlas, at Safi, which is connected through Marrakesh with the whole North African railway system, and further north on the beaches on both sides of Casablanca and likewise at Rabat. Both these important ports are on the railway that runs 1,300 miles north to Tangier and

*Patton's  
forces land  
at Agadir.*

*Coaling  
vessels  
ready.*

east through Algeria to Tunisia. West of Fez the line is electrified because of lack of suitable water and coal for the locomotives, but east of Fez coal is the fuel, and it is a sign of the carefulness of the invasion plans that British coaling vessels were at once on hand with the necessary fuel for the locomotives.

At Casablanca a number of French naval units put up a stiff fight, but the chief vessel, the battleship *Jean Bart*, was soon seen to be burning. American tanks and infantry were quickly able to force their way into the city from the already established beach-heads.

*Americans  
force  
surrender  
of Oran.*

On the Mediterranean shore of Algeria American troops under the immediate command of Major General Lloyd R. Fredenhall landed to the east and west of Oran and then closed in on the city from the land side and forced it to surrender. They also occupied three valuable airfields nearby and the naval base at Mres-el-Kebir. Much the same procedure was followed at Algiers further east. Here, by luck or by design, Admiral Darlan was taken prisoner. Within 76 hours after the first landings he signed an armistice with General Eisenhower and this virtually put an end to all further active resistance. Then began the advance of the Americans from the west and of the British Eighth Army from the east to occupy Tunisia and drive the last Axis forces out of North Africa.

*Drive  
toward  
Tunisia.*

[November 10, 1942. Oran falls to American forces. November 11. Hitler declares French-German armistice

of 1940 at an end. Casablanca surrenders to United States troops. November 13-15. United States Pacific Fleet scores major naval victory over Japanese in Battle of Guadalcanal. November 21. 1,600-mile Alaska highway connecting Alaska, Canada, and the United States is opened. November 27. The French scuttle their fleet at Toulon to prevent capture by the Nazis. December 5. Real facts of Pearl Harbor attack are disclosed by Navy. December 24. Admiral Darlan is assassinated in Algiers. *Admiral Darlan is assassinated.* January 14, 1943. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill confer on war strategy at Casablanca. January 31. German army in Stalingrad trap is completely destroyed.]



## A CLOSE-UP AT STALINGRAD

(A.D. 1942-1943)

ERICH WEINERT

DECEMBER 26, 1942.—In front of Stalingrad *German troops concentrated in front of Stalingrad.* Hitler has concentrated his crack troops. It is interesting to determine from which strata of the population and from what parts of the “fatherland” this elite has been recruited. I have read more than a thousand letters which the soldiers of the doomed army have written home. Among the home addresses, the names of big cities hardly occur. Among a thousand letters the name Berlin appears fifteen times, Bremen four times, Leipzig five times, Chemnitz twice, Breslau eleven times, and Hamburg not once. That means that *Hitler's most reliable units.* Hitler has gathered here his most devoted and reliable units from small cities and villages, from among peasants, white-collar workers, small tradesmen, craftsmen, and so forth.

From “Russian against German,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, reprinted by permission of the author and publisher.

December 30, 1942.—Toward evening a German staff sergeant who was captured yesterday was brought before us. He is in his twelfth year of active military service. He is completely in agreement with Hitler's war.

"Aren't you glad that the war is over for you?" we asked him.

"No!"

*German  
prisoner  
offered his  
freedom.*

"Would you like to get back to your outfit?" the Russian colonel asked.

"Yes, sir!"

"Have you been maltreated here in any way?"

"No!"

"If by chance you could get back to your outfit, would you tell your comrades that?"

"I would tell them the truth."

"Then you shall go back. We will give you permission. Tonight we will take you over at a safe spot. . . . Well, aren't you glad?"

The Hitler hero looks at us helplessly for a while. His "Yes, sir" sounds somewhat miserable.

*Unwilling  
to die for  
the Führer.*

"Are you ready to go?" asks the colonel.

Then the man completely loses his arrogant bearing and says with an almost imploring voice: "I should like to ask you, sir, if I may remain here. After all, I should like to return to my family when the war is over."

"You mean that you feel safer here?"

"Yes, sir!"

There it is—the “readiness to die for the Führer.”

*January 2, 1943.*—Reports are coming in of men giving themselves up singly and in groups—at one place even a whole company with their lieutenant; but these are only sporadic occurrences. Why don't the others believe our broadcast assurances?

We question new prisoners: “Why aren't more men giving themselves up?”

“They still think they will be rescued, in spite of every- *Nazis hope*  
thing. The officers say the encirclement is weak. They *for rescue.*  
point out that other traps have been broken. They assure us all that we shall then be relieved and get a furlough home.”

“But if the Red Army strikes now, what then?”

“The officers say the Red Army is much too weak for that—or they would have attacked long ago.”

The picture is one of starvation—200 grams of bread, *German*  
in some cases only 150 grams a day. In the morning a *troops*  
liter of thin coffee; in the evening, half a liter of watery *starve.*  
soup with a few peas and beans in it. Sometimes a bit of horse meat. “The horses will all be eaten before long. Whenever one drops, everybody goes for it like a bunch of ravens. In five minutes only the bones and the guts are left.”

“How about your winter clothing?”

“Very few have it. Most of them have only summer coats and leather boots, thin cotton gloves, and a muffler.



There is hardly a man who hasn't frozen something or other."

*Afraid to  
surrender.*

"How much longer are you going to hold out?"

"Many more want to come over. But they're frightened."

"Of what?"

"That they'll be shot here, or at least starved to death. Our officers constantly tell us that the Russians are half starving because we have already occupied all their grain-growing regions. Or the men think that they'll be deported to Siberia, where they'll be left to die. Or that they'll have to do forced labor here for years after the war, in order to rebuild everything again."

"We've talked to you often enough across the lines. You shouldn't believe all those lies."

*Enemy  
propaganda.*

"They say that's all enemy propaganda. The officers told us, 'Those fellows who speak over there are no Germans; that's all a bluff. Those are recordings.'"

"Aren't the men discussing whether or not one should take a chance and allow oneself to be captured?"

*Hope for  
spring.*

"Yes. Many do. They say, 'We've had tough luck here. In winter the Russians are always at an advantage, but in spring we are going ahead again.'"

It seems they will never realize how things stand until cannon speak, instead of arguments.

January 4, 1943.—Today we tried to stir the consciences of the responsible officers over there. Here is the text of the leaflet:—



DESTRUCTION IN STALINGRAD. SOLDIERS AND ARMED CIVILIANS IN ONE OF THE BLOODIEST BATTLES IN RUSSIAN HISTORY TURNED BACK THE GERMAN INVADERS WHO HAD PENETRATED THE CENTRAL PART OF THE CITY. LOSSES IN MEN AND EQUIPMENT ON BOTH SIDES WERE ENORMOUS (*Pages 151-171*)

PHOTOGRAPH FROM SOVFOTO



## TO THE OFFICERS OF THE GERMAN WEHRMACHT!

The hour is approaching which will decide the life and death of the men entrusted to you. The German High Command has left you in no doubt that the situation in the Stalingrad trap is hopeless. Your men are starving and half frozen.

*Hopelessness of German position.*

You have ignored all proposals for an honorable capitulation made to you by the commanding officer of the Red Army. If your conscience does not demand that you lay down your arms before the Red Army liquidates the trap by force, tens of thousands of young Germans will die a senseless and inglorious death.

We speak to you as Germans. We are at the front opposite you. We do not feel the need of making "propaganda." Your political opinions do not interest us. We are guided solely by our duty towards the German people, but above all by our duty to do everything for the tens of thousands of German mothers, wives, and children to save their sons, husbands, and fathers from useless destruction.

If an officer in such a situation considers it honorable to die rather than surrender, he is free to do so. But no one gives him the right to force upon his soldiers an attitude contrary to the people's healthier conception of honor.

Do not abuse the trust of your men by keeping from them a realization of the danger by which they are engulfed.

We expect you, as German officers, to be conscious of your responsibility to our people. Remember that you will return from your captivity after the war to a new Germany in which the people are going to ask you if you have safeguarded as much as possible the lives of the men entrusted to you.

*Responsibility of the officers.*

*January 8, 1943.*—Our propaganda seems gradually to be getting on their nerves. We have a German regimental order for Christmas which contains the following passage: "But the Russians will destroy us neither by their propaganda nor by force of arms." And today we even got hold of an order of the commanding general, Paulus himself, with a warning against Russian propaganda.

*Ultimatum  
refused.*

*January 9, 1943.*—The ultimatum has been delivered to Paulus. And refused.

Sat all last night in the radio station and sent the text of the ultimatum into the trap. From 4.00 to 7.00 A.M. I kept sending out an invitation to Paulus to send his officers out with a white flag, on the road from Marinowka to Platonow at 9.00 A.M.; officers of the Red Army would meet them there.

Their radio operators picked up our message and sent the radiogram to the commanding general. Sharp at 9.00, officers from both sides met at the designated spot, but the Germans merely declared they had orders not to accept anything.

Now we have to acquaint the soldiers themselves with the text of the ultimatum.

*Strong  
enemy  
forces near  
Marinowka.*

*January 11, 1943.*—The reconnaissance battalion of the division found a favorable spot yesterday where strong forces of the enemy must be concentrated, south of the village of Marinowka, which lies in the southwestern tip of the trap in a protruding salient. The shape of the front lines there is such that a loud-speaker can cover a wide sector.

After dark, the car with our loud-speaker moved along under cover of the embankment of the Kalatsch-Karpowka railroad. The road to the dugout from which we were to send went through country swept by enemy fire. We therefore still had a few kilometers of exhausting

slogging through the deep snow of the steppes. Under our heavy fur coats our bodies were covered with perspiration in spite of the freezing night. The enemy over there shot tracers across, but they were too high.

The technicians had already dashed ahead across the railroad embankment in an area without cover and had carried their apparatus to within 500 meters of the German lines. The night was clear and there was almost no wind.

*Clear,  
windless  
night.*

Several times I read the ultimatum and its honorable conditions of capitulation. Then the last appeal of the commanding general of the Red Army, which told the soldiers that Paulus had refused the ultimatum. "Your fate is now in your own hands. Send your representatives with a white flag! Leave your trenches and dugouts with hands raised! Anybody who tries to resist will be killed. Your life now depends on your own judgment. The decision is yours!"

*Ultimatum  
read to  
German  
soldiers.*

Once more we shouted to them not to believe their officers. Real Germans were standing here who had no intention of misleading them with propaganda, who had no other wish than to tell them the truth once more. If they would now listen to reason, not one more German need die in the trap . . . But tomorrow would be too late.

There was no shooting. They had heard.

January 12, 1943.—Too late. The offensive has begun. Marinowka, the village into which we directed our ap-

*Offensive  
begun.*

peal only yesterday, has already been taken. From other sectors of the front we received news that everywhere larger or smaller wedges have been driven into the trap.

*Snow  
impedes  
progress.*

When dark fell we started out through a light snow-storm. In newly conquered territory travel is somewhat more dangerous. To be sure, the roads had been cleared of mines, but in the whirling snow it is easy to lose one's way and get into the mine field. We moved ahead very slowly. It was a vast field of wreckage. Most of the houses in Marinowka are shot to pieces. In the darkness we stumbled through rubble half covered with snow, in order to get to a suitable dugout. They have left their dugouts in fairly good condition for us. We visited a regimental staff in a near-by dugout.

The regimental commander and his deputy commander never left the telephone. Orders and reports poured in incessantly.

"What's the enemy doing? Is he digging in? When did he leave these positions? Any movement noticeable at point X? Watch them carefully!"

*Confidence  
of Russian  
forces.*

Everybody in the dugout was tense and alert. There was an expression of serene confidence on all faces. We are moving forward. Hitler's Sixth Army is being liquidated.

We began sending, again and again, the same urgent appeals: whoever does not surrender now will not get away alive. The first blow has been struck. The liquidation of the trap is a matter of days.

We didn't know for sure if those startled soldiers over there heard us. There were rumors that in the neighboring sector several units had surrendered. U. talked to them. There was a group of fifteen men and another of sixty, who organized and surrendered with their lieutenant. When they were asked if they knew anything about the ultimatum, they said no. They reported that if the blows of the Red Army continued unabated, not one soldier would fight to the last cartridge—they would all surrender.

*Reports of  
surrender.*

A captain, they said, had told them that the thunder of the German guns was already audible before Karpowka.

There was the thunder of cannon—anybody could hear that—only they weren't German cannon.

*Thunder  
of cannon.*

January 14, 1943.—Karpowka. The offensive is rolling on. We have heard that a gigantic wedge has been driven in along the northern side of the valley of the little Rossoschka River to Karpowka, and has split off the western part of the trap. Dimitriewka, Atamanskij, and Karpowka have been taken by storm. Only recently the commanding officer of a reconnaissance detachment on the southern side of the trap showed us on a map the German positions near Karpowka, and the concrete fortifications which the Germans had constructed along the railway line leading to Shirnoklejewka. The Nazis never imagined that the Red Army might take Karpowka by surprise, attacking from the back.

*Nazis  
unprepared  
for attack  
from rear.*



*Signs of  
panic.*

Everywhere there are signs of panic. The Nazis simply leave everything behind, and don't even bother about their wounded and sick.

*Abandoned  
dugouts.*

The big, wide village of Karpowka looks like a gigantic junk yard. Wherever you look, nothing but overturned guns, immovable tanks, heavy trucks left standing broadside across the street. In their flight the Germans tried to throw a lot of stolen goods onto their cars, which were still usable, and then they lost half the loot again. They even left their motorized batteries behind. Heaps of cartridges, shells, and bombs are lying around. Their dugouts, which they built with solid supports of pieces of rail and massive timber, stand as if built for eternity. Here they intended to spend the winter unmolested.

They had no time to burn things down. They were flushed too suddenly from their warm holes in the ground. Now they have to walk through the snow to Stalingrad. Their chests and little grips must soon become too heavy for them; they are already throwing them away on the highway. Who knows where they stole all that stuff? There are bales of cloth, linen, silk goods, preserves, soap, caviar, and other things. They must have parted from these things with heavy hearts. All this had been packed ready for their Christmas furlough.

*Prisoners  
with  
frozen  
feet.*

A troop of prisoners comes shuffling along on the main street. They were cut off at Marinowka and Atamanskij. Half of them just hobble along on frozen feet.

"How about it?" I asked them. "Is the Red Army too weak to finish you off?"

They look at me with troubled eyes in grimy faces. "It was dreadful, sir," a tall fellow with a wild, black beard said to me. "This barrage—I shall never forget it as long as I live. I don't know how I ever got out of it."

*Unfor-  
gettable  
barrage.*

Some pressed around us and began a plaintive lament. "If we had only known how we were being cheated by the officers. Every day they told us that the Russians would kill us all. Otherwise we should have stopped firing long ago."

*January 15, 1943.*—The offensive is making great progress. The trap has already been cut into different sections. In some sectors they are still said to be defending themselves desperately; in others they leave everything and disappear as soon as the artillery opens up. We have followed our forward troops into Sineokowskij. Our army is pushing forward in a long wedge in the direction of the circular Stalingrad railway.

The chaos is becoming ever greater. On all streets, in all yards, lonely trucks are standing around partly loaded with material from the various staffs. Red soldiers are busy at the moment unloading the stuff in order to use the trucks. And now leaves of documents, notebooks, and staff correspondence are whirling through the whole village, driven by the icy wind. German newspapers and illustrated magazines flutter across the steppes. The street is strewn with unsent letters which had still been at the

*Chaos  
increases  
as  
offensive  
progresses.*

post office, with paymasters' records and other military records, with cheap novels, picture postcards, field service regulations, decrees, orders of the High Command of the Wehrmacht, and German paper money. The tanks rumble right over the paper.

Nazi  
"Kultur."

Red Army men poke around, laughing, in this rubble of "Kultur." Many know a little German.

"What is *The Vision of the Intensification of the Germanic Man?*" one man asks me, leafing through a gaudily printed, cheap publication.

"Dear comrade," I say, "that's a new sort of language; I can't even translate it into German, let alone Russian. That is Nazi abracadabra."

The dead  
lie among  
the trash.

And among all this trash lie the dead, grotesquely distorted, their mouths and their horror-filled eyes still wide open, frozen stiff, with their skulls torn away and their bowels torn out, most of them with bandages on their hands and feet still saturated with the ointment for chillblains. Human wrecks, with whom death has not yet quite finished, lie on their straw bags in the field hospital. Those were the patients suffering from frozen limbs, invalids and half-dead men for whom nobody had cared during the flight. There they lie, those wretched knights of the hooked cross, driven into all the blessed lands by their beer-bloated prophets.

Abandoned  
cripples.

When their troops retired, these abandoned cripples wanted to hobble after them and thus got into the line of fire of the rapidly advancing Red Army.

On the parapet of a trench in which the dead are piled one on top of the other, someone had stuck one of those staff pennons lying around by the hundreds—one of those pennons with a white skull and crossbones on a black field. *In hoc signo!*

*January 16, 1943.*—I am squatting with a captain in a very small, dark dugout of the Jablonowa ravine. The little glass pane above the door is covered by driving snow every moment. The little stove, which has been patched up from old gasoline cans and shell cases, smokes so badly one is almost suffocated. The best thing to do is hang about outside during the day, in spite of the 48 *degrees below zero.*

We came here from Sineokowskij, among steppe valleys which grow increasingly wilder. All the roads are covered with tanks, cars, and guns, some unharmed and some bombed into unrecognizable junk. Pulverized motorcycles, field kitchens, ammunition boxes, and among all these, frozen corpses of men and beasts in their last agony of death. *Last agony of death.*

The crows have already settled on a corpse lying farther up on the height, and are now fighting for the eyes.

“Once you are back, my dearest,” I read in a letter from Frankfurt which I picked up somewhere recently, “I shall do nothing but look into your dear eyes again and again. In them I want to forget the dreadful sorrows of these years.”

In another ravine we did find, after all, one surviving Hitlerite. He looked at us deliriously. Our medical orderly had just put a new bandage around his feet.

"What's the matter with you?" I asked him.

*No care  
for the  
sick.*

"My feet are half frozen. There were three of us here when our fellows left. None of them cared about us. No water, no wood, not a piece of bread. One very sick fellow died yesterday. My other comrade said, 'Our men have left already; we must see if we can get a truck. If the Russians come we are done for.' So we crawled out of the dugout. Then a shell struck a few feet away from us. The other couldn't get up any more. I dove back into the dugout. Then in the evening the Russians came."

*Thousands  
of tanks  
and trucks.*

January 19, 1943.—Last night we got to the former flying field of Pitomnik, which is in the center of the area where the Nazis have been trapped. When we arrived there in the dim light of the moon, we thought we were in the midst of an inhabited place. But then we saw that what we had taken for small houses were really tanks and trucks the Germans had left standing there. Thousands and thousands of them.

*Litter of  
war.*

Early in the morning we climbed up on an embankment. And what an unimaginable sight we had from there. As far as the eye could reach, nothing but tanks, carts, cars, guns, machine guns, dump trucks, remnants of planes, supply sheds, and ammunition dumps. Tanks knocked in as though they were tin cans, eight-ton trucks burned down to their iron frames, guns with their barrels

burst, and amid all this, corpses of men and beasts, the whole litter of war, from a shell case to a shaving brush.

January 20, 1943.—The enemy is still holding out along the circular railroad 15 kilometers west of Stalingrad. From that direction the air reverberates. *The enemy still holds out.*

The general invited us for breakfast this morning. While we were sitting at breakfast, we heard a terrific shouting outside. We ran out. All the Red soldiers were pointing up and shouting, "It's on fire." Not too high above the field a Ju-52 that had been hit came roaring down, emitting smoke. He had intended to land on the old flying field, but hadn't found anything that resembled it. After a few seconds it was completely enveloped in smoke, went into a spin, and burst into flames. Not one of the crew had a chance to jump.

An hour later we heard the same lively shouting again—another bird looking for his old nest. A Junkers appeared from the cloud cover at about 700 or 800 meters and began to circle. The flak thundered from all sides. The guards tore the tommy guns from their shoulders and fired away. *German planes crash.*

He had hardly made a semicircle when a long white glowing flame shot out of his left motor. He was burning. The pilot attempted a quick landing. But in the next instant the plane tilted over and dashed to the ground. There it exploded with a mighty roar. Ammunition transport. Atomized!

At noon there came a third one, but he smelled a rat in time and turned tail. When he had almost disappeared in the haze, he suddenly trailed a thick plume of smoke. He won't get back to Rostov either.

*The  
trap dis-  
integrates.*

January 22, 1943.—The staffs are moving up. The trap disintegrates into its last component parts. Hitler's Sixth Army was concentrated on the edge of the city of Stalingrad and on Gorodischtsche. There were unceasing lightning and thunder across the steppe. One was almost deafened by the firing of hundreds of guns.

*"To  
Stalingrad."*

The nearer we came to Stalingrad, the more gruesome the picture became. Wherever one looks the relics of the former elite army are lying about. Everywhere, frozen stiff, lie and squat all those who could not tag along in the retreat, and broke down here, left to their fate by their own comrades. One man lies toppled over, still embracing the post of a road sign—"To Stalingrad!"

*Procession  
of  
prisoners.*

In the ravine which leads to the outer fortifications of Gontschara, hell itself must have broken loose yesterday. The whole ravine is full of tanks and trucks all shot to pieces. Some lie overturned. Tank turrets that have been blown off and guns that have burst clog the road. Corpses were mashed to pulp by the caterpillar tracks. Artillery and guns pressed forward through the defile. It is difficult to make headway on foot through all this wreckage.

On the height there comes a procession of prisoners, Germans and Rumanians.

Behind them hobble the cripples with frozen limbs, their feet wrapped in handkerchiefs. They implore the others with beseeching eyes not to walk so fast; they are afraid of being left behind on the steppes to freeze to death.

*Prisoners  
afraid of  
being left  
behind.*

"If you had surrendered on January 9," I said, "you would have driven to the prisoners' camps in your own tens of thousands of trucks."

Moaning they hobbled on.

Behind us in the ravine our own guns thundered away at the last fortifications of Stalingrad.

*January* 24, 1943.—A terrific blizzard started yesterday. The steppes become ever more treacherous. The trucks have sunk into snowdrifts. Toward evening we moved on to Gumrak. The Nazi garrison in Stalingrad is already split in two.

We arrived in Gumrak in deep snow after dark. On the way we saw some of the huge military graveyards, thousands of wooden crosses set in neat rows. "*Lebensraum!*" Behind the village lay the deserted German staff dugouts, dispersed over the deeply snow-covered steppes.

*Military  
graveyards.*

The dugout which we entered must have been left just recently in a great hurry. The little stove, which was heated with coal, was still lukewarm. The walls were covered with a sort of Linkrusta wallpaper. The occupants had obviously settled down very comfortably for the long winter. They had probably stolen the armchairs from houses in Stalingrad. There were still some cups of tea on



the table. They left their brushes, mirrors, shaving kits, Eau de Cologne bottles, and other junk on the shelves along the wall.

*Ruins  
and  
corpses.*

*January 25, 1943.*—We have been walking around Gumrak this morning. A few houses hit by German bombs yesterday are still burning. The whole landscape is strewn with ruins and corpses. The snowfall at night half covered these horrible pictures. Here and there skulls, feet, or hands stick out from the snow.

In a ravine we found the corpses of Russian prisoners of war, almost naked, as thin as skeletons, with the skin already a blackish-brown, all thrown together in a heap. They must have been lying here for some time. Starved or tortured to death.

Everywhere troops of prisoners are moving along.

*German  
medical  
officers.*

In the village we found three German medical corps officers, who did not know where to go and so waved to the first Russian tank that came their way.

"Don't you think," our instructor asked them, "that the last ten thousand would certainly lay down their arms if they knew that just as little would happen to them as happened to you?"

"I am absolutely convinced of that," said one of the medical officers. "Everything should be done to save them."

"Will you help us save your compatriots?" asked the instructor.

"Certainly! But how?"

"Tonight, after dark, we are driving up to the front lines. There we can shout across to them through our loud-speakers. You are medical men and officers. You have great authority with your soldiers. Won't you call over to them and tell them how you were received here as prisoners of war?"

Then suddenly these three heroes couldn't take it. The one pretended to have a sprained ankle; the second felt sick; the third began to cough and said he had such a catarrh that he could hardly make his voice audible at all. *Sudden disabilities.*

*January 27, 1943.*—From all sides streams of prisoners are gathering together—hobbling, shuffling wretches, wrapped in rags. Napoleon's grenadiers must have looked the same way after crossing the Berezina. The most difficult problem now is to find accommodation and food for these wretches, until they can be shipped away. *Streams of prisoners.* The stronger ones are immediately sent off to march to the gathering point at Karpowka, with loaves of bread under their arms. It is 25 kilometers. The weaker ones and those with chillblains have to be stowed away for the time being in all the available dugouts and sheds. The greatest difficulty arises in bringing up supplies for the thousands, especially since the supply columns can only move slowly in the deep snow. *Difficulty of bringing up supplies*

Three of these bedraggled specters shuffled past our dugout. The commanding officer fetched them in. "Here, have something hot to drink!" Meantime they

just stared at the two loaves of bread which lay on the shelf. The commanding officer noticed it. "Take the bread along," he said, and handed it to them. "We have plenty of bread. You came here to steal our daily bread. But we can still give you poor devils something."

The three immediately tore hunks out of the bread and ate so greedily they nearly choked on it.

*Karpowka  
already  
changed.*

*January 30, 1943.*—On my trip today I passed again through Karpowka. It is now 40 kilometers behind the front lines. And life has already returned again. A fortnight ago it was dead and empty; now it is swarming with life. The peasant women are back and have already started repairs on the houses. The wintry sun shines brightly. Children are skating on the lake where a dead German still lies. They have taken the seats out of the destroyed cars and are coasting down the slope, shrieking with mirth.

*A Heinkel  
strafes  
the town.*

In the evening twilight, while the village street was still full of life, a Heinkel came suddenly shooting out of the sky, flew over the village at treetop level, and strafed it with all guns blazing. This is the third day, they say, that he has raced along over the villages in an impotent fury, like a hornet whose nest has been destroyed.

I sat in my billet and heard the bullets strike the house. As I ran out to see what harm that mad dog had done, I saw our guard lying in front of our door. A ricocheting bullet had struck his chest. Only ten minutes ago he had



AERIAL VIEW OF THE PRISONER OF WAR CAMP AT MATEUR, NORTH AFRICA, FILLED WITH GERMAN TROOPS CAPTURED IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE TUNISIAN CAMPAIGN. AXIS RESISTANCE ENDED MAY 13, 1943 (Page 171)

FROM A U.S. ARMY SIGNAL CORPS PHOTOGRAPH



been sitting with us, warming himself by the stove and telling me about his home in the Donets region.

As the woman doctor approached, he opened his eyes once more. Then his head pitched backward.

An old bearded peasant stood near-by. Suddenly he opened his mouth wide, as though he wanted to shout something, struck his chest wildly with his fist, then raised it up and shook it in a raging fury.

But he uttered only one hoarse word: "*Mestj!* Re-venge!"

"*Mestj!*  
*Revenge!*"

[February 6, 1943. North African Theatre of Operations is placed under supreme command of Lieut. General Dwight D. Eisenhower. February 9. United States troops gain complete control of Guadalcanal. February 12. United States Marine Corps announces creation of women's reserve to be directed by Mrs. Ruth Cheney Streeter. February 21. Navy Department announces loss of the *Argonaut*, largest American submarine. April 21. President Roosevelt announces Japanese execution of captured American fliers who participated in raid on Tokyo. May 12. Axis capitulates in Tunisia. May 22. Comintern (Communist International) is dissolved. June 10. Pay-as-you-go tax measure is signed by President Roosevelt. June 11. Pantelleria falls to Allies. July 10. Americans, British, and Canadians invade Sicily. July 25. Benito Mussolini resigns as dictator of Italy. August 15. American and Canadian forces occupy Kiska. August 16. Con-

*Guadal-*  
*canal falls*  
*to United*  
*States*  
*troops.*

*Quebec  
conference.*

quest of Sicily is completed. August 11-24. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill confer at Quebec. September 3. Italy is invaded by British and Canadian troops. September 8. Italy surrenders unconditionally to the United Nations. September 9. Allied Fifth Army troops establish bridgeheads at Salerno.]

## SALERNO

(A.D. 1943)

AL NEWMAN

THE ship is fully loaded for combat. Her decks are jammed with assault boats and amphibious jeeps. Tanks, half tracks, trucks, bulldozers, guns, good water, ammunition, and gasoline are below decks. *Loaded for combat.*

Soon we are under way and joining a large troop convoy surrounded by cruisers and destroyers. As each hour passes the tension slowly heightens. It is as though someone were tightening the tuning peg of a violin and testing the tone. You can almost hear the men on every ship of the convoy thinking to themselves over and over again: "D-day—H-hour. D-day—H-hour." D-day is Sept. 9 and H-hour is 3:30 a. m. Fifteen hours before H-hour the Swiss radio reports an Allied amphibious operation headed for Sardinia or Naples. So we are observed and expected. *"D-day—H-hour."*

Late in the afternoon of D-day minus one we receive word that an important announcement will be made at

From "D-Day, H-Hour," *Newsweek*, 1943, reprinted by permission of the author and publisher.



*Italy  
surrenders.*

6:30 over the Rome and Algiers radios. At 6:30 we tune in on Algiers for what is to me the most dramatic moment of the war. Static drowns out the beginning of the announcement. "Sounds like Donald Duck," says the commodore. Then the static clears and we hear the voice of General Eisenhower. "Italy has surrendered," he says.

This occasion marks the first time I have ever seen members of the armed forces leave sizzling fried chicken cooling on a plate. All over the ship you can hear soldiers and sailors yelling with glee. They are thrown completely off fighting pitch. Someone has suddenly loosened the tuning peg on that violin.

*Approach-  
ing Gulf of  
Salerno.*

But it was tightened up immediately. We were approaching the Gulf of Salerno and the invasion of Italy was only a matter of hours away. Here is the story of the events immediately preceding that invasion and of the landing itself as I scribbled them down in timetable form between bomb bursts:

*Sept. 8, 9:25 p. m.*—Flares to the north—then heavy gunfire and flak. Red-hot tracer bullets crisscross in the night sky and bombs burst on the water with yellow flashes and bellowing reports. Reports of approaching enemy planes pour into the bridge.

*Assembly  
in the  
wardroom.*

*10 p. m.*—We dash to assembly which is held in the wardroom. The general tells his officers: "Instead of wishy-washy Italian coastal defenses, we have to face the Germans. The situation is tougher than ever, but it

is fundamentally unchanged. Go in with the idea of killing anyone who fires on you. Pull no punches. Don't go in there with your hands down." The colonel's tone is quieter: "Be prepared to meet the worst and we'll never come out on the worst end. Good luck to you, gentlemen." Whereupon we all rise and salute.

*"Be prepared to meet the worst..."*

10:40 p. m.—We slacken speed. There is land in sight—mountains on the tip of land marking the southern end of the Gulf of Salerno. Fortunately the weather is clear and the water millpond smooth—completely unlike the landings in Sicily.

11:10 p. m.—Units of the British fleet open a terrific bombardment of the beaches in preparation for the landing of Tommies timed at 3 a. m. Unaccountably, no such artillery preparation is planned for our landing.

11:45 p. m.—The whirl of winches announces that our first boats are over the side. Then their powerful engines growl and grumble in the dark. Grim-faced, silent troops go down the rope nets.

Sept. 9, *Midnight*—The beginning of D-day. A number of boats circle counter-clockwise off our starboard bow, their wakes making white circles in the dying moonlight. Finally they take off in line for rendezvous points from which they will make the long run for shore. The British beach bombardment continues fiercely, underlining the fact that we will have none.

*Beginning of D-Day.*

3 a. m.—It's now pitch dark. The British bombardment lifts to inland, as the hour is reached for their land-

ing. Our scout boats are in close to our beaches. They are not fired upon, they report.

3:30 *a. m.*—It is H-hour. All remains quiet until the first wave hits the beach. Then every weapon known to the German Army opens up—mortars, machine guns, grenades, rifles, 88s, and even howitzers—in the high mountains behind the narrow coastal plain. The wave staggers, then attacks. It is evident right now that the landing is to be far, far tougher than the Sicilian affair.

*Tougher  
than  
Sicily.*

4:35 *a. m.*—There is fierce opposition all along the beaches. Most of the troops are pinned down by enemy fire. "Hell of an armistice, ain't it?" comments a naval officer. Mines floating in are swept from the channel to the beach and hold up further waves of infantry. Busy mine sweepers bustle to the scene of trouble.

5:30 *a. m.*—No boats have returned from shore as yet. The captain and the commodore are gloomy. Not only will beach opposition delay troops trying to gain their daylight objectives and leave them open to panzer counterattack, but the unloading must slow down owing to the lack of boats.

*Lack of  
boats.*

6:30 *a. m.*—There is the first request for naval gunfire support to silence a heavy battery in the hills to the south, which is giving the beaches hell.

7 *a. m.*—Mine sweepers are detonating mines with a roar and geysers of water. A carrier-based Spitfire umbrella is in the air.

7:20 a. m.—An air-raid alarm sounds. There is a report to the ships that an enemy bombing raid in the northern area has been turned back by friendly fighters. A big formation of Spits is dead astern. The first Navy casualties from the beach battalion pull alongside and are hoisted into sickbay.

*Air-raid  
alarm.*

7:49 a. m.—The all-clear sounds. I identify a kid with a face wound as a young ensign who had wanted me to go in with him. "Aw, come along," he said, "we'll have a hell of a lot of fun."

8:15 a. m.—There is news on the radio. Far away in America the President has said: "At this moment barges are moving through the dawn to the enemy coast." It's strange to stand here and watch his words come true.

*Barges  
move  
to enemy  
coast.*

9:02 a. m.—There are frantic pleas from shore to shell an old mill just back of one of our beaches. Heedless of a mine field, a destroyer cuts through and blasts a German strong point. The radio is now crammed with requests for supporting fire from cruisers and destroyers. That expected panzer attack is developing, and the boys have little with which to oppose it.

10 a. m.—A little British monitor is in close, shelling requested targets with her outsize guns. The situation ashore is improving although panzers are reported pouring down a mountain road to the south—in the opposite direction from the expected counterattack. Fires and smoke cover the hill down which they are advancing.

*British  
monitor  
shells  
targets.*

*LCT  
hit twice.*

11:20 a. m.—Our LCT pulls alongside with several dead and wounded. She has been hit twice by 88-millimeter shells. The second shell exploded inside a tank she was carrying, killed two men and wounded two, and set the tank on fire. They pulled out the wounded and pushed the blazing tank overboard with her dead into the deep water, before her ammunition went up. An ensign from North Carolina reports to the bridge for replacements. Still quivering, but under admirable control, he asks me: "Sir, is it true the Italians have surrendered?"

Noon—The channel is swept and a line of destroyers cruise up and down the beach, shelling requested targets. They keep this up all afternoon.

*Tanks  
move  
ashore.*

1:20 p. m.—Our tanks are now going ashore—one is named the *Blazing Comet* and another the *Boogerman*.

2 p. m.—A large Italian fleet is reported west of Sardinia heading southwest. Some elements of the British Fleet leave to intercept it. Later reports show that the Italians are heading for Malta to surrender.

*Italian  
submarine  
surrenders.*

3:55 p. m.—An Italian submarine, flying her colors, sails calmly into the gulf and surrenders to our flagship.

4 p. m.—All but intermittent firing ceases on the beaches. The situation ashore is still obscure. Several outfits report they have taken objectives but many have not. A naval lieutenant says: "That shrapnel was mighty thick. I had a place all picked out on my chest for the Purple Heart."

8:15 *p. m.*—We slip through mine fields to a new berth much nearer the shore. This hastens the unloading since the boats have a shorter distance to travel.

8:30 *p. m.*—A big air raid is reported on the way. We remain on the alert until 9:07 but we don't stop unloading. A miraculous stevedore who is unloading the after hatches has been swearing for twenty hours without repeating himself.

10:20 *p. m.*—After another alert and an all clear, the real thing arrives. Flares are dropped over nearby cruisers. They throw up flak with anti-aircraft guns, but they do not stop shelling the shore. At the height of the raid a small boat pulls alongside and a polite English voice asks the bridge: "Do you know which way she is lying?" "Tell him on her belly," suggests one of the officers. *Big air raid.*

*Sept. 10, 12:35 a. m.*—A general ashore radios: "Thank God for the Navy." The cruisers are to continue shelling all night. You can see their salvos as they travel in arcs across the sky seemingly at a leisure pace. *"Thank God for the Navy."*

1 *a. m.*—A young ensign stops aboard for food after seven round trips to the beach. He reports that fortunately for the Army the German 88-millimeter guns were overshooting the beaches, in many instances by as much as 30 yards. Tank-laden craft received absolute priority on the beach at 7 o'clock, so evidently there was still plenty of panzer trouble.

9:45 *a. m.*—Numerous tanks have landed during the night and have rushed inland to engage the enemy. Two

wounded *Panzertruppen* men are brought over side. One is asked if he thinks the war is nearly over and says: "No, of course not."

10:30 a. m.—Ten enemy bombers are coming from the southwest at low altitude. Our cover intercepts them in time. Thank God for those Spits.

*LCTs  
on the  
beach.*

Noon—The row of LCTs on the beach belching vehicles looks like a long line of stranded, gasping whales. The beach itself is loose, fine sand. Steel netting has been laid over it to make it firm. Behind the beach amphibious engineers and ack-ack gunners have made fox-holes in scrub-covered dunes. Less than a quarter of a mile inland is the white, weathered stone wall of the ancient town. A few doughboys are digging foxholes into its earth-filled top. Along the south wall runs a dusty road and an irrigation ditch into which the soldiers are dunking their sizzling feet.

*G. I.'s  
wash at  
ancient  
temple.*

2 p. m.—I am proceeding south along the road when three Focke-Wulf 190s strafe it. I flop in my usual bramble patch. The planes make one pass, and then flak and those blessed fighters drive them away. I get up and turn north again, noting after I pass the intersection that G. I.'s are washing themselves on the steps of an ancient temple.

There are signs around announcing that the area is an Italian national park and advertising the ristorante which once was obviously a mighty ritzy joint. This modern town is just a wide place in the road with two wine shops.

A native slips me the Fascist salute and a "buon giorno" and then tries to sell me some postcards at three or four times their normal price.

At night when we finally finish unloading and form in close lines for the run through the mine fields back to sea, we get the worst air raid I have ever seen. It is bright moonlight, and a German reconnaissance plane marks our position with colored flares. At 10:45 without warning all hell breaks loose and stays loose for three-quarters of an hour. *Another air raid.*

It is a low-level attack and the tracers from other ships buzz over so low they seem to part your hair. Bombs woof on the water and raise brightly lighted fountains. This time our nearest miss is under 200 yards away. Incredible as it may seem, there have been no hits on the tightly packed, motionless formation sitting on the water like helpless, fat ducks. Five minutes after we get under way an engineer comes into the wardroom shaking his head like a punch-drunk prizefighter. "Jesus," he says, "the sides of this ship were ringing like the bells of St. Mary's." *No hits.*

As I write this last paragraph we are in sight of the North African coast, steaming along in comparative safety. But slam a door or drop a plate and the boys of the beach battalion who stayed there through the hours of shelling and the kids who steered the assault boats into the machine-gun tracers will jump a mile. Your correspondent? He can outjump any of them any day. *Comparative safety.*



[October 1, 1943. General Clark's forces occupy Naples. October 13. Badoglio government in Italy declares war on Germany. October 19-30. Cordell Hull, Anthony Eden, and V. M. Molotov confer at Moscow. October 31. United States Marines invade Bougainville island. November 20. Marines land on Tarawa and Makin atolls in the Gilbert Islands. November 23. Gilbert Islands are occupied by United States Marines after 76-hour battle.]

*Marines  
land  
on Tarawa.*

## REPORT FROM TARAWA

(A.D. 1943)

ROBERT SHERROD

**A**BOARD one of the many troop transports plowing the long sea furrows to Tarawa, and later in the hell of Betio, was *Time* Correspondent Robert Sherrod. His story:

Ship life was dull. The men of the 2nd Marine Division fairly wilted in their crowded, hot quarters. They spent an hour each day cleaning rifles, sharpening bayonets, then another hour studying aerial photographs and contour maps of Betio, the little bird-shaped island that was the main fortification of Tarawa atoll. There was nothing else to do except see movies, read dog-eared magazines, play cards and sleep, which Marines can do at any time in any position on almost any given surface.

*Dull ship  
life.*

The Marines seemed anything but excited. More than half of them were veterans of Guadalcanal. They had the calm confidence of a Corps which assumes that it is the best fighting force in the world. They knew that the most concentrated bombing and shelling in history would pre-

*Calm  
confidence.*

Courtesy *Time Magazine*, © Copyright, Time Inc., 1943,  
and the author, Robert Sherrod.

*Pre-landing  
bombard-  
ment.*

cede their landing: almost 1,000 tons of aerial bombs, plus 1,500 tons of shellfire, on Betio's crowded, scant square mile. But they could not be sure that even this tremendous pre-landing bombardment would wreck the defenses built by the Japs. On the night before battle, sweat-drenched men packed the wardroom, spilled into the passageways to pray with their chaplains.

*Betio—  
a blazing  
inferno.*

Long before dawn of D Day the first wave of Marines was in its boats, the second wave was climbing down the nets in half-moonlight. At 5 A.M. the sky lit up like the crack of doom: battleship guns were pounding Betio. Soon light and heavy cruisers joined the concert of inferno. Ashore, flames spurted hundreds of feet high. Surely, the Marines thought, mortal men could not stand such pounding.

*Not  
another  
Kiska.*

The Marines' confidence rose. They wondered if the Japs, who undoubtedly knew that the Americans were coming, might now have evacuated Tarawa as they had Kiska. Then, suddenly, a great splash kicked up the sea a few hundred feet from one transport, only 50 feet from another. The Japs were firing their coastal guns. Betio would not be another Kiska, after all.

The first wave had been ordered to hit the shore at 8:30. Correspondent Sherrod had been assigned to the fifth wave, commanded by Major Howard Rice, which would reach the beach 31 minutes later, presumably after the first four waves had established comfortable positions. But now it was obvious that H Hour would be delayed

because the Jap fire had forced the transports to shift to a safer area.

The fifth wave milled around in what had turned into broad daylight. Now the naval gunfire mounted to an unbelievable crescendo of thunder, smoke and fire. Then came the planes, dropping big bombs, little bombs, incendiary bombs. Wave after wave after wave of torpedo-bombers and dive-bombers from carriers crossed and crisscrossed Betio. Offshore, the rough sea tossed the Higgins craft and drenched the Marines and their weapons. *Bomb after bomb.*

A mile ahead something was happening. The early waves were not hitting the beach as they should. A control boat sped up and its officer shouted: "You'll have to go in right away as soon as I can get a boat for you. The shell around the island is too shallow to take the Higgins boats." The news was chilling. It meant something dimly foreseen but hardly expected: the shallow coral reef around Betio would bar landing save by special small, steel-plated boats, of which there were all too few, or by wading. *Shallow coral reef bars landing by big boats.*

A small boat came alongside Correspondent Sherrod's party. An officer said: "Half of you men get in here. They need help bad on the beach." Jap shells began peppering the water. Major Rice and 17 men scampered into the small craft, which headed for the beach through a barrage of mortar and automatic-weapon fire. The Higgins boat milled around for another ten minutes, getting

its share of near-misses. One Marine picked a half-dozen pieces of shrapnel from his lap, stared at them. Another said: "Oh God, I'm scared. I've never been so scared in my life."

*Enemy  
machine  
guns.*

Two more small boats, disabled, passed. The officer of a third offered to take the remainder of the Higgins boat-load as far as he could. As the men shifted, they saw another craft half a mile ahead puffing smoke, saw figures jumping over its side into the water. By now the Marines realized that this was going to be a landing, if any, in the face of enemy machine guns.

*Silent  
prayers.*

Said the wild-eyed small-boat boss: "It's hell in there. They've already knocked out a lot of boats and there are a lot of wounded men lying on the beach from the first wave. They need men bad. I can't take you all the way in because we've got to get back out here safely and get some more men in there quick. But I'll let you out where you can wade in." The men crouched low. The little vessel was loaded with silent prayers.

*Men  
wade  
ashore.*

Then the boat boss said: "From here on you can walk in." The men in the boat, about 15 in all, slipped into neck-deep water.

Five or six machine guns were concentrating all their fire on the group. Any one of the 15 would have sold his chances for an additional \$25 on his life insurance policy. There were at least 700 yards to walk slowly, and as the waders rose on to higher ground, they loomed as larger and larger targets. Those who were not hit would always

remember how the bullets hissed into the water inches to the right, inches to the left.

After centuries of wading through shallowing water and deepening machine-gun fire, the men split into two groups. One group headed straight for the beach. The other struck toward a coconut log pier, then crawled along it past wrecked boats, a stalled bull-dozer, countless fish killed by concussion. Those who got ashore did not know just how many of the 15 had been lost—probably three or four.

*Divide  
into  
two groups.*

Near the landing point, a boat in on the first wave had stalled. A 20-year-old crewman on the boat had been shot through the head, and had murmured: "I think I'm hit, will you look?" Now he lay on the beach. A Jap ran out of a coconut-log blockhouse into which Marines were tossing dynamite. As he emerged a Marine flame-thrower engulfed him. The Jap flared like a piece of celluloid. He died before the bullets in his cartridge belt finished exploding 60 seconds later.

The Marine beachhead at this point comprised only the 20 feet between the water line and the retaining wall of coconut logs which ringed Betio. Beyond this strip, Jap snipers and machine-gunners were firing. In a little revetment was the headquarters of Major Henry P. ("Jim") Crowe, a tough, red-mustached veteran who had risen from the Marine ranks to command of one of the assault battalions. Nearby passed a parade of wiremen, riflemen, mortarmen and stretcher bearers.

*20-foot  
beachhead.*

*Jap  
sniper.*

A handsome young Marine walked briskly toward Major Crowe's headquarters, grinning in greeting to a pal. There was a shot. The Marine spun around, fell to the beach dead. He had been shot through the temple. A Jap sniper had waited since early morning for just such a shot at a range of less than ten yards.

A bit later a voice called: "Major, send somebody to help me! The son-of-a-bitch got me." Two men crawled over the retaining wall, dragged back a Marine shot through the knee. Then a mortar man 75 yards down the beach rose to a kneeling position, tumbled with a sniper's bullet through his back. The wounded man's companion popped up to help, got a bullet through the heart.

*Assault  
battalions.  
cut to  
ribbons.*

That was the way it went the first day. The assault battalions had been cut to ribbons. Anyone who ventured beyond the beachhead and the retaining wall—and by midafternoon several hundred Marines had so ventured—was likely to become a casualty. From treetop concealment and from pillbox slits Jap snipers and machine-gunners raked the Americans.

*No  
weakening.*

But the Marines did not weaken. One remarked that a friend had lost a piece of his thumb. "He just looked down at it and laughed and kept on going. That damn fool has plenty of guts." The story of another "casualty" got around: "He got shot pretty bad in the shoulder but he won't even come in to let 'em dress it until he finds the mucker that shot him. He's still out there pokin' his

rifle in all the holes and shootin' like hell and gettin' shot at a million times a minute."

At great risk from shore batteries, destroyers ran close to the beach, opened up on targets as small as one Jap sniper or one pillbox mound. It was precision firing, the shells often landing less than 50 yards from the Marines. If the high explosives did not wreck many of the fortifications, they did strip away most of the islands' palm fronds.

The first night passed perilously. The Marines held three beachheads, the longest less than 100 yards from end to end, the deepest 70 yards inland. The Japs commanded the rest of the island. For every Marine who slept in a foxhole, two kept watch through the darkness. *Perilous night.*

Next morning before dawn a lone Jap plane came over, shied away as U. S. ships put up a terrific ack-ack barrage. Soon after the first light the 2nd Division's reserves made for shore. From the beachhead it was a sickening sight.

Even before they climbed out of their Higgins boats, the reserves were under machine-gun fire. Many were cut down as they waded in, others drowned. Men screamed and moaned. Of 24 in one boat only three reached shore. *Machine-gun fire cuts down reserves.*

Low tide that morning bared the bodies of many Marines, some hunched grotesquely, others with arms outstretched, all arrested while charging forward. At regimental headquarters, located 30 yards inland against a Jap log-and-steel-laced blockhouse, staff officers worked grimly. Colonel David Shoup, huge, bull-necked com-



mander of the men ashore, reported: "We're in a mighty tight spot. . . . We've got to have more men." It was a touch-and-go whether the Marines would all be killed, or, less likely, be pushed back into the sea.

*Turning  
point.*

The turning point came about 1 P.M. on the second day. Millions of bullets, hundreds of tons of explosive poured into the stubborn Japs. Strafing planes and dive-bombers raked the island. Light and medium tanks got ashore, rolled up to fire high explosive charges point-blank into the snipers' slots of enemy forts. Artillery got ashore, laid down a pattern over every yard of the Jap positions. Ceaseless naval gunfire became more accurate.

*Marine  
fighting  
spirit.*

But the decisive factor was the fighting spirit of the U. S. Marines. Not every Corpsman was a natural hero: some quivered and hugged the beach, but most—those who feared and those who disdained death—went forward into the Jap fire.

Lieut. William D. Hawkins, a Texan, led his platoon into the coconut palms. Though twice wounded, he refused to retire. He personally cleaned out six machine-gun nests, sometimes by standing on top of a half-track and firing at four or five Japs who fired back from block-houses. One of Hawkins' men sobbed: "My buddy was shot in the throat. He was bleeding like hell and saying in a low voice, 'Help me, help me!' I had to turn my head. We kept on advancing."

*The  
wounded  
remain at  
the front.*

At least two wounded company commanders, and probably half a dozen others, stayed at the front directing

operations. The percentage of men who fought on despite injuries was very high.

That afternoon Colonel Shoup wiped his red forehead with a grimy sleeve, said: "Well, I think we're winning, but the bastards have got a lot of bullets left. I think we'll clean up tomorrow."

The Colonel was right. On the third day the Japs began to fall apart. The Marines advanced inland at a mounting pace, overran Betio's valuable airfield, bottled the Japs in the island's tail. U. S. casualties fell off rapidly. Before noon it became evident that the Jap list of killed and wounded would be longer than the American. That was no consolation to the leathernecks who had seen their mates fall. But there was satisfaction in mopping up the snipers. One gang of 50 Marines fired rifles and carbines into one coconut tree at a trapped Jap. He returned the fire after he had been hit at least 50 times.

*Marines  
overrun  
airfield.*

The Japs were crack Imperial Marines. Some, when they realized that further opposition was useless, removed their split-toed rubber-soled jungle shoes, placed rifles against their foreheads, pulled triggers with their big toes. But most fought to the death.

*Some  
Japanese  
suicides.*

The enemy's stout pillboxes drew admiration from the Americans. Said a Marine officer: "You've got to hand it to them. They've got a mighty good engineer working for them." The fortifications had stood up under naval guns, land artillery, 1,000-lb. aerial bombs, point-blank tank fire. When U. S. half-tracks, mounting

.75-mm. guns, got ashore, the Marines enjoyed following them. These machines stuck their gun barrels into pill-box openings, fired away. One Jap hit by a 75-mm. shell flew high into the air, then spiraled down, disintegrating as he fell.

*Island  
graveyards.*

The third afternoon and next day the waterlogged bodies on the coral flats were gathered up, the crude island graveyards were filled. The U. S. Marines, living and dead, had proved they could take it as superbly as any fighting men had ever taken it.

# PENICILLIN

(A.D. 1943)

E. K. GUBIN

**A** NEW drug derived from a mold commonly found in bread or cheese is already saving the lives of many of our soldiers and sailors. Penicillin is so powerful that even in great dilution it will stop the growth of dread staphylococcus aureus—yet it is so mild that one hundred thousand units injected into the veins of a patient are without toxic effect.

*New drug  
from  
mold.*

The list of infections successfully cured by penicillin is a roster of some of the most terrible diseases of man. Osteomyelitis—the crippling infection of the bone which strikes young and old alike; septicemia—the blood poisoning which results in speedy death; meningitis—anothercrippler and killer; pneumonia; gas gangrene—the infection which results in numerous battlefield amputations and deaths; cellulitis—the rapid-spreading swelling which causes death in many cases; carbuncles—those painful and incapacitating infections; burns—where infections retard healing and result in death; gon-

*Diseases  
helped  
by  
penicillin.*

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*Investigation  
still in  
progress.*

orrhea—the vicious invader that sometimes resists all other treatments, including the sulfa drugs; infected wounds—so prevalent in wartime. This is not a complete list, for investigations are still in progress. Scientists at famed Oxford in England and at the Mayo Clinic here and Army and Navy doctors both here and abroad are studying penicillin. Many a killer in today's list of bacteria may meet its match in this innocent appearing mold—*Penicillium notatum*—the producer of penicillin.

*Discovered  
by  
accident.*

Like a number of other important drugs, penicillin was first discovered entirely by accident. In 1929 an English scientist, Dr. A. Fleming, was working in his laboratory with some culture plates containing staphylococcus. He laid a plate aside, and later noticed a spot of mold growing on it. Curiously, on close inspection he found that the staphylococcus colonies surrounding the mold had become transparent, indicating they were being destroyed by something in the mold.

Scientist that he was, Dr. Fleming knew at once that exposing the plates to the air had resulted in contamination with certain micro-organisms. He recognized the mold as being a variety of that commonly found in bread or cheese—*Penicillium notatum*, and he embarked on a number of experiments.

*Growth  
of  
mold.*

He found that the mold would grow at room temperature in broth. He watched the mold appear on the surface of the broth—first as a white, fluffy spot which rapidly increased in size after a few days. Then it would

change to a dark green, felted mass, the broth becoming bright yellow. He noticed that the more common pathogenic bacteria coming in contact with this yellow broth were inhibited or destroyed.

*Pathogenic  
bacteria  
inhibited  
or  
destroyed.*

Lacking a name for this new drug and not wishing to call it "broth from *Penicillium notatum*," Dr. Fleming decided on the shorter name of "penicillin," and so characterized it when he wrote up his experiments for the austere *British Journal of Experimental Pathology*.

Fleming's find went unnoticed for about ten years. Then war broke over England and research on infection was intensified. At Oxford, Dr. Florey and his associates resurrected the Fleming article and embarked on a series of experiments. The observations of Fleming were substantiated; articles were published in 1940 and 1941 in *The Lancet*. Dr. Florey himself paid a visit to the United States in 1941 to interest this country in solving the problem of producing penicillin in large quantities and experimenting further on its possible uses. He found ready ears in the National Research Council and in the Department of Agriculture. Studies were immediately instituted on the cultural characteristics of *Penicillium notatum* and on the methods of purifying penicillin therefrom.

*Dr. Florey  
continues  
experiments.*

The Committee on Medical Research and the National Research Council assisted Dr. Florey in interesting commercial establishments in producing the drug; today some sixteen companies are so engaged.

*Grown  
in sugar  
solution.*

The present method of securing usable quantities of the drug is to grow the mold cultures in bottles in incubators. A sugar solution is used instead of the broth used by Fleming, and about twelve days of incubation is necessary. The mold grows on the surface of the sugar solution. Eventually, shining golden droplets of natural penicillin are excreted by the mold. These droplets fall into the solution whence they are extracted by evaporation as a yellowish brown, crystalline powder.

*High  
potency.*

Normally, 160 quarts of mold culture will yield 10 grams of penicillin. Because of its high potency this is sufficient for 100 standard doses. It has been estimated that under present manufacturing conditions, 1,000 grams of penicillin would cost nearly \$50,000 to produce. However, private manufacturers and government agencies alike are working on methods to produce penicillin at a far more reasonable cost.

The usual method of treatment is by continuous injection of a solution of penicillin into the veins of the patient. English doctors favor intramuscular injections. Wounds may be treated directly by local application or injection of penicillin solution and burns by the local application of a penicillin ointment.

*Phenomenal  
results.*

The use of penicillin in some of our recent war casualties has given phenomenal results. A dozen of the toughest cases from the Pacific area were lodged in an Army hospital in Utah. They included compound fractures, bones splintered by high velocity bullets—wounds which

had been under treatment by ordinary means for as long as fourteen months. Some of them were foul-smelling, pus-filled wounds; the men weak, delirious. They had been treated by the sulfonamides and other drugs without avail.

Almost from the beginning of the injection of penicillin the soldiers began to improve. Within a week they became so much better that operations could be risked which were necessary to remove bone fragments, bits of uniform, or in one case, a galosh buckle which had been driven into the wound.

*Improvement is almost immediate.*

In the galosh buckle case the wound was healed within twenty-seven days. That was after fourteen months of ineffectual treatment by other known means! The other recoveries were just as rapid. So impressed were the Army doctors that twenty million units of penicillin were immediately sent to our forces in England and a like amount to North Africa.

*Penicillin sent to England and North Africa.*

Hundreds of cases are now in the records of the medical profession, showing the marvelous results obtained with this new drug. Take the case of the little, golden-haired, 4 year old girl who was admitted to the Mayo Clinic after an illness of four days. Her father related that on several occasions shortly before the child's illness, she had bitten the inside of her left cheek.

On admission her temperature was 104 degrees. Her face was so badly swollen as to be out of shape, with both eyes swollen closed. She could not sleep nor eat, and



she could barely breathe. Blood cultures showed the presence of deadly staphylococcus aureus; pneumonia appeared.

*Nine-day  
cure.*

Sadly the doctors shook their heads. This infection was of a type almost universally fatal. Sulfa drugs proved of little effect. Then intravenous injections of penicillin, averaging 20,000 to 30,000 units a day, were tried; thirty-six hours after initiation of the treatment, blood cultures of the little girl were found sterile. Sixty-three hours later, the child was again able to swallow; she was having only a little difficulty in breathing and could take liquid diet. The swelling was obviously subsiding. The infection was being beaten. By the fifth day the little girl was able to eat semisolid and solid foods. By the ninth day, her temperature was normal. What a difference now in her appearance! Without the use of penicillin, doctors were convinced, she would never have recovered.

*Nasal  
and facial  
cellulitis.*

Another patient was a woman 28 years old with severe nasal and facial cellulitis. Her right nasal passage was obstructed by the swelling, and there was a continuous discharge of purulent material. Her face was badly swollen. She had received several doses of sulfanilamide, but the pain and swelling continued. Her fever rose to 104 degrees. Penicillin was given for six days, and at the end of that time the woman had completely recovered.

In a recent issue of the English medical publication, "*Lancet*," various English cases were summarized by Dr. Florey. A man aged 53 was brought to the hospital

comatose and believed to be dying from streptococcus meningitis. Previously, sulfapyridine had been given for eight days, without definite improvement, sulfathiazole had also been given for thirteen days without change, though life was sustained. Immediately on his arrival at the hospital, penicillin treatment was commenced; five weeks after start of the treatment the patient was discharged from the hospital, fully recovered.

*Streptococcus meningitis.*

Dr. Florey also mentioned the external use of penicillin in 172 infections of the eye, mastoid, chronic wound sinuses and miscellaneous septic conditions. Forty-six eye infections with previous duration of from two months to thirty-two years were treated. Penicillin ointment and penicillin drops were used. A number of cases had had previous sulfa treatments, without permanent results. All of 18 cases of acute inflammation of the eye were found free of infection after penicillin treatments which lasted from one to five weeks. Included was a woman of 70 years who was cleared completely in a month. In 19 chronic cases of inflammation of the eye, all but one recovered in from one to five weeks.

*External use of the drug.*

Twenty-two mastoid infections were treated with penicillin. The patients' ages ranged from 10 months to 76 years. Primary healing took place in 14 of the acute and 5 of the chronic cases within seven days.

The Royal Infirmary at Glasgow reports excellent recoveries of infected burns treated with penicillin cream. Fifty-four burn cases were treated with Penicillin cream

*Burns treated with penicillin cream.*

at the Royal Infirmary, and in 41 of the wounds infective organisms had disappeared within five days. Healing was unusually rapid, and toxic effects were not observed.

Especially remarkable have been the results with gonorrhea resistant to sulfa drugs. The usual treatment in this infection is by sulfathiazole. Penicillin cleared up the gonorrhea in 2 days, and there is a report on 68 cases without a failure.

*Prepared  
in  
ampules.*

*Refrigeration  
necessary.*

As used by the United States Navy, penicillin is prepared in ampules with the material ready for injection and with 100,000 units in each ampule. The material appears as a fine powder, varying in color from light yellow to dark brown and has been previously purified, dried and tested for sterility. This material will keep well at ordinary room temperature, but high temperature breaks it down and prolonged exposure at room temperature makes it deteriorate. Therefore the ampules are stored in a refrigerator until ready for use. When kept in the form of a liquid, penicillin is unstable and must be kept at all times in a refrigerator. When the material is to be used, the powder is dissolved in sterile distilled water, sterile normal salt solution, or 5 per cent glucose solution.

In the Navy the product is being used for infections caused by the staphylococcus, the hemolytic streptococcus, the germs of pneumonia and gonorrhea—particularly for those cases which have resisted treatment with the sulfa drugs. Since the amounts of the drug available

even for these limited purposes are small, the most serious cases—namely, infections of the blood or of the spinal fluid—with these dangerous germs are given preference. Indeed, for infections of the spinal fluid the material is now injected directly into the spinal area. Not many people react unfavorably to the drug. In fact, there were in 264 cases only 11 instances with an eruption on the skin indicating some sensitivity.

*Serious cases given preference.*

Supplies of penicillin sufficient for civilian use may not be available until after the war. However, all the resources of American pharmaceutical science and many associated industries are being mobilized. Because of its life-saving significance the War Production Board and every other governmental agency that can be helpful is giving sympathetic consideration to the proposals for establishing manufacture of this important product. Conceivably, this type of encouragement may make it possible to have some penicillin for civilian use within the next three or four months. When that time comes medicine will have available a new weapon which will revolutionize the treatment of some of our most dreaded diseases, and save innumerable lives which, without this new product, would quite certainly be lost.

*Penicillin for civilian use.*



# THE MIRACLE OF AMERICAN PRODUCTION

(A.D. 1943)

By BURNHAM FINNEY

THE history of popular American awareness of wartime production may be boiled down to three stages. First there was consternation over the size of the task set before the country. Then came prideful joy in the realization that it was being brilliantly carried out. And now, in the third stage, there is a casual, almost bored acceptance of the industrial victory—the miracle has become so familiar that it no longer seems extraordinary. Disturbances on the home front, slight and temporary recessions in output, are naturally highlighted in the press, and tend to blur the positive side of the story. As one who has watched the amazing industrial spectacle from a front-row seat, as it were, the writer wishes to bring the facts into clear focus again. *Industrial victory.*

The one undisputed and overwhelming fact is that America since Pearl Harbor has witnessed an unprecedented production miracle. Twenty months after that

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tragic event, our factories are pouring out guns and planes and ships and a thousand instruments of war for the United Nations at a rate far exceeding our entire national output in any year in the fabulous twenties. Every month we are now producing war goods, measured in dollars and cents, equivalent to constructing fifteen TVA's.

*Peak not  
reached.*

And the peak has not been reached. Not until the end of this year will American industry hit its full stride in war production, and then it will be in a position to maintain a dizzy pace as long as necessary. America's ability to produce has amazed not only Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo, but America itself. Industry's performance, in sober fact, has surprised industry itself. It had not fully appreciated its own untapped powers.

*Synthetic  
rubber.*

Perhaps the most spectacular case is that of synthetic rubber. Japan believed that to deprive us of natural rubber would be to cripple our transportation and block our building of a mammoth war machine. Her leaders, however, failed to reckon with American industrial resourcefulness. We started literally from zero to build a new industry vital to our successful prosecution of the war. Almost within a year's time the biggest chemical business in history, costing three-quarters of a billion dollars, was made available. Before the end of 1944 there will no longer be a rubber problem in the United States. We shall be able to turn out tires at a rate of one a second or better, and we shall have enough rubber for other purposes.

*No longer  
a problem.*

Detroit means automobiles to most Americans. It is the capital of the country's greatest mass-production industry. But it no longer makes automobiles. Major General Levin H. Campbell, Jr., Chief of Ordnance of the United States Army, has described it as "the backbone of our ordnance production." It is more than that. It is the powerhouse of our war production program. General Motors, for instance, has become the country's largest manufacturer of war goods. *Capital of the war industry.*

The automotive industry has gone "all-out" for war with a burst of activity that dwarfs any of its previous performances. In its best years it never built more than five and a half million passenger cars and trucks; it only got above the five-million mark three times. But it is today supplying the United Nations with armament *at a rate equal to the production of twenty million automobiles a year.* War goods produced by this industry in a single year are equivalent to two-thirds of all the motor cars and trucks owned in this country.

At the war's start our merchant shipbuilding industry was virtually flat on its back. The cargo ship was a puny affair. Since then old yards have been enlarged, abandoned yards have been rehabilitated, new facilities have been created, and the outpouring of ships to carry the necessities of war to the battlefronts and to our allies is of almost unbelievable magnitude. Imagine being able to build a *Normandie*, giant of the seas, every two and a half days! That is what we are doing, in effect. That is *Merchant shipbuilding industry.*



what the merchant tonnage being put into service by our private shipyards adds up to.

*Goal  
ten times  
that of  
1918.*

We thought that we did a pretty good job in World War I; in 1918 when the submarine menace was most critical, we constructed under two million tons of merchant ships. But our goal in 1943 is twenty million tons—more than ten times the record in the previous war—and we are sure to reach it. On top of this total, the ship-building industry bears the chief burden of constructing warships to make our two-ocean navy a reality. Publication of figures on warship completions is no longer permissible, but it can be said that private yards are busy with battleships, cruisers, destroyers, aircraft carriers, escort vessels and smaller craft on a scale never before approached. Nor should the herculean ship-repair service be overlooked. Two yards alone have handled in one year over 12,000 ships needing repairs. Some of these ships had been broken squarely in two and had to be put back together again.

*Ship-repair  
service.*

*Smokeless  
powder.*

In the spring of 1940 the shortage of powder-making capacity, particularly for smokeless powder, was so acute that it gave our top military men many sleepless nights. At one time our facilities reached such a low ebb that we could supply only a pitifully small army. Today, thanks to the far-reaching production program, we have available enough facilities to make all the powder required by all the armies of the world. And that is the story, endlessly reiterated, on every other bottleneck item.

Making possible this incomparable record of achievement are three factors: equipment, materials and manpower.

The first thing we had to do was to tool up for war, by converting machinery in existing plants and building new factories from the ground up. Fortunately we possessed a machine tool industry surpassing in size and technical development that in any other country in the world. It went to work immediately. It stretched its output beyond anything it ever had dreamed of, building machines on which war goods are made. It will have shipped by the end of this year, since January 1, 1941, over three billion dollars worth of machines. In an average peacetime year its shipments run around one hundred million dollars. The machine tool industry has not only girded our own factories for war but contributed extensively to the plants of England, Canada, Australia and Russia. In so doing it has deliberately stripped itself of its markets after the war, because most of the wartime tools it has turned out can be adapted to manufacture of civilian goods.

Raw materials productive capacity, totally inadequate for a global war, came in for its full share of expansion. In three years so much new steel-making was added to the steel industry that the additional capacity was the equivalent of building a new steel industry about two-thirds the size of Britain's. We now have within our borders well over half the steel-making facilities of the

*Machine  
tool  
industry.*

*Expansion  
of  
productive  
capacity.*

*Steel.* entire world, and more is still under construction. Alloy steel capacity has been increased 140 per cent; this alloy steel enables us to turn out weapons and vehicles that are stronger, lighter, tougher and have a greater margin of safety than those of our enemies.

*Magnesium.* At the time of Pearl Harbor, Germany was far ahead of us in the production of magnesium, which is so desirable in airplane manufacture because of its lightness. We seemed hopelessly outclassed. But Hitler no longer has his boasted lead over us. Our facilities have been enlarged so rapidly that today, as one war official expresses it, "we have magnesium sticking out of our ears." With some modifications we are in the same enviable situation in regard to aluminum. Our capacity is now seven-fold what it was a short time ago, and we have enough aluminum to build well over one hundred thousand planes a year.

*Tremendous construction program.* Transformation of the country from a peace to a war economy meant not only tremendous additions of machines and materials facilities to those already in place, but also a construction program never before approached in size. The Ordnance Department of the Army has a series of sprawling plants, mostly between the Alleghenies and the Rockies, to make shell, tanks, powder, ammunition and other ordnance items and to load shell. All of them have been built since war struck. The Navy owns hundreds of plants operating full tilt on war goods, all new in this war. Expenditures for plants and equip-

ment were so huge, up until this year, that their total came to almost 10 per cent of all munitions produced, figured on a dollar basis.

Manpower has not proved so troublesome as first anticipated until comparatively recently, though it has necessarily created many problems. For one thing, mass production lends itself admirably to quick training of workers. Jobs formerly done by skilled men can be broken down into their component parts with a man assigned to do only one repetitive operation. In that way "green" help can be taught to run a machine in a few weeks. A constantly growing proportion of automatic or semi-automatic machinery and equipment also reduces the need for skill. The result is that our war shops today are filled with men who never before had seen a lathe or a drill press or had a speaking acquaintance with common shop tools.

Woman power should share the credit for boosting production up to its present dizzy level. While we have not been compelled to go to the lengths reported in England and in Russia, some 35 per cent of our war workers are women. In some war plants, including a new one making aircraft engine superchargers, 75 to 80 per cent of all the factory employees are women.

Putting its mind and energy onto war production to the exclusion of everything else, American industry has done many remarkable things along the road to higher output. It has subcontracted parts and subassemblies and

*Manpower  
problems  
solved.*

*Woman  
power  
deserves  
some credit.*

*New and  
better  
weapons.*

complete assemblies, fanning out work so that it takes in the small as well as the large shops and so that every community is affected. It has developed new and better weapons, with the active cooperation of the Army and the Navy, and has improved the design and manufacture of older weapons. It has substituted less critical for the more critical materials. Many times it has lowered costs of production.

*Over  
8,000  
planes  
a month.*

You may remember the incredulity with which President Roosevelt's statement was greeted when he said in the spring of 1940 that America must build 50,000 planes. The figure was so fantastically high that it sounded a bit like a pipedream. Today it is more than a reality, because we are making over 8,000 planes a month, at a rate, that is, of almost 100,000 a year. Imagine all the military planes made in the United States in 1943 in a row on the ground, wing to wing. Imagine that you are rushing past that line in the Twentieth Century Limited. It would take you sixteen hours to pass them all! And numbers alone don't indicate the full magnitude of the fact, since the average weight per plane has risen sharply, now that bombers make up a higher proportion.

*Fluidity  
of war  
a compli-  
cation.*

The fluidity of war makes necessary emphasis first on one weapon and then on another. A single battle or a campaign reveals a weakness in a plane or a tank that must be remedied immediately if superiority is to be ours. Improved designs cannot wait for the next yearly model; they must be incorporated in the weapon right away.

This fluidity of war enormously complicates the manufacturing tasks. Production processes must be sufficiently frozen to permit large quantities of a product to be made, but not solidly frozen so that shifts become impossible.

To help solve this tough problem, modification centers *Modification centers.* have been established for aircraft. Certain special equipment is essential if a bomber is to be stationed in the cold, fog-bound Aleutians; different equipment is needed if it is to be based in the tropical islands of the Southwest Pacific or in the sands of North Africa. Accordingly planes come off the assembly line in California, let us say, and are flown to an Arizona modification center where they are tailored to the specifications of the region to which they are to be assigned. Modification centers have been established for tanks too.

When America tackled the task of equipping its forces *Task of* and those of its Allies, its first job was that of filling up *filling* the "pipelines" extending from our factories to the vari- *"pipelines."* ous fronts around the world. Moreover, the millions in training in this country had to be provided with rifles instead of wood dummies and with tanks instead of trucks marked "tank." After the "pipelines" are full, we shall have to put in at the factory end only what flows out at the battle end. That will reduce production to a replacement basis. The "pipelines" will not be filled until sometime in 1944, though they won't be far from that satisfactory state at the end of this year. Because they started much earlier than we did, both Germany and

England have already reached that state. When the war with Germany ends victoriously, the "pipeline" of war goods extending from America to Europe and Africa will be bulging. All of the content, needless to say, then can be transferred to the Pacific theater where it can be put to use against the Japanese.

There undoubtedly has been some overbuilding of war plants and some piling up of certain weapons that may never be used; and in the months ahead we may make many more of some items than we ever shall employ in combat. But war officials and industry itself have in mind the indisputable fact that victory goes to the side that has too much rather than to the side that has too little.

As the end of our second year of direct participation in the war draws near, our production of war goods is of a magnitude that Hitler and Tojo didn't think possible, otherwise they would not have tempted fate by challenging us to make such an effort. Today "the arsenal of democracy" is more than a high-sounding phrase. It is an actuality. It is large enough and producing fast enough to supply all the anti-Axis world.

Though peak production is not yet attained, we are definitely over the hump. The United States alone is outstripping the rest of the world combined. In the brief space of three years, and mostly since Pearl Harbor, we have not only caught up with and passed Germany's rate of output, leaving her far behind, but also turned out more goods than she has been able to accumulate in the

*Too much  
rather  
than too  
little.*

*"The  
Arsenal of  
Democ-  
racy."*

last decade. As for Japan, her production of course is only a fraction of ours.

Wars are won by fighting men on the field of battle and at sea and in the air. But they cannot be won unless these fighting men can be provided with superior equipment in ample quantities. The workshops of America are now seeing to it that the fighting men of the United Nations get that equipment. Man for man, the production per manhour in the United States far surpasses that of any other nation. The reason for this is the high degree of mechanization of our industries and our skill, acquired in making automobiles and other products, in flowing materials through the shop at the right time and at the right place.

*Fighting  
men need  
equipment.*

*High degree  
of mechan-  
ization.*

Such is the over-all picture. It is the magnificent and unchanging reality behind the shifting façade of the news, good and bad. Whether victories are scored in the Mediterranean or on the Russian fronts, on the high seas or in the scattered islands of the Pacific, American industry shares the glory. The products of America's genius for organization and mass production are everywhere, and everywhere they turn the tide of struggle in our favor.

[November 22-25, 1943. Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek meet with Roosevelt and Churchill in Cairo to discuss Far Eastern affairs. November 28-December 1. President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin, and Prime Minister Churchill confer at Teheran. December 1.

*Cairo  
Conference.*



*Anzio  
beachhead.*

*Allies  
liberate  
Rome.*

Swedish liner *Gripsholm* arrives in New York with Americans and Canadians released from Japanese internment camps. January 22, 1944. British and United States troops establish beachhead at Anzio. January 31. United States forces invade the Marshall Islands. February 4. American warships shell Paramoshiri Island, part of Japanese home territory. February 5. Kwajalein atoll falls to United States troops. February 15. Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino is blasted by Allied bombers. February 17. United States carrier-borne planes blast strongly fortified Japanese base of Truk. March 4. Berlin is bombed for first time by United States bombers. April 10. Russian armies recapture Black Sea port of Odessa. May 9. Sevastopol is recaptured by the Russians. May 18. German fortress at Cassino falls to United States troops. May 25. Beachhead at Anzio is linked with main Italian front. June 4. Allied Fifth Army liberates Rome. June 5. Victor Emmanuel III relinquishes control of Italy to Crown Prince Umberto. June 6. Allies launch invasion of western Europe by landings in Normandy.]

# THE INVASION

(A.D. 1944)

ALLAN A. MICHIE—FREDERIC SONDERN, JR.

—IRA WOLFERT

FOUR years ago, before the last British soldier was taken off the beach at Dunkirk, Prime Minister Churchill assigned a small group of officers to the specific task of planning the return to the Continent. Then and for a long time afterward, it seemed a mere academic exercise. But by the time of the Casablanca conference in early 1943 the project no longer looked fantastic and the plans for D Day filled four huge volumes, each the size of a New York telephone book.

*Plans for  
D Day.*

The place where the invasion would strike was decided over a year ago. Roosevelt, Churchill and the Combined Chiefs of Staff approved the decision in August, 1943, at Quebec.

That it would start between the end of May and the middle of June, 1944, was decided at least eight months in advance. In November, 1943, at Teheran, President Roosevelt so informed Marshal Stalin. The exact day was

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Allan A. Michie, Frederic Sondern, Jr., and Ira Wolfert.

to be left to Eisenhower. Marshal Stalin expressed his complete satisfaction.

*Selection  
of  
invasion  
week.*

When General Eisenhower arrived in London in January, he checked over the forecasts of the men and equipment he could expect, and on what dates. Satisfied, he set invasion week to be between June 3 and 10.

But the selection of the precise day was a last-minute drama.

Four or five weeks before D Day, SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces) departed from London and moved into battle headquarters conveniently near the loading ports and the "hards"—stretches of English beach paved with blocks onto which landing craft come at high tide.

*Nerve  
center of  
invasion.*

In a big, stodgy old house that has seen better days, standing in a rolling, wooded private park was the nerve center of the entire invasion operation.

*Preparations  
for D Day.*

Vital pieces of information poured into this quiet woodland hideout—photographs taken by suicide pilots at zero feet above Normandy beaches showing five main types of mines and underwater obstacles to impede our landings, photographs of vital bridges and railway yards bombed to uselessness. The preparatory air attacks began eight weeks before D Day and by June 6, 82 strategic railway centers behind the Atlantic wall had been put out of action and most rail and road bridges leading to the Cherbourg Peninsula had been broken, forcing Germans to move up supplies and reinforcements by long

detours. The air policy was to drop two bombs elsewhere, as on Pas de Calais, to one on the real invasion objective, to divert German suspicion.

A few days before D Day, the Channel clearing plan started working. Allied destroyers and planes, with interlocking sweeps, covered almost every square yard of the English Channel while other forces bottled it up at both ends. U-boats were unable to surface long enough in the area to charge batteries without being detected. German E-boats and R-boats were driven back to bases whose approaches were mined nightly by planes to make impossible any sudden sortie against the invasion fleet. Heavier ships of the Home Fleet cruised through the North Sea approaches ready to intercept any bigger German warships. Intelligence reports, corroborated by photographs, described hidden big gun emplacements on the coast which had not previously been detected.

*Channel  
clearing  
plan.*

*Hidden  
gun em-  
placements.*

At the last minute a German sergeant deserted his Führer and at pistol point forced French fishermen to take him to England. He brought with him valuable details of the Atlantic wall defenses along the Normandy coast. But by that time the Atlantic wall had few secrets from us.

The British had long ago issued an appeal for snapshots taken in peacetime by trippers onto the Continent. From the thousands sent in, valuable details were ferreted out—a narrow lane not shown on any maps that led up behind a cliff on which the Germans had installed

*Appeal  
for  
snapshots.*

a heavy gun battery; a back alley that curves behind a tourist hotel which the Germans had made into a strong point.

*Troops  
begin  
to move.*

As far back as March 29 troops began moving into staging areas, then closer to embarkation ports, then finally to their loading areas. Nearly 2000 special troop trains were run to coastal ports. In the great control room an illuminated map showed the progress of every convoy along the roads to the ports. Meanwhile, in large areas of Britain, evacuated by civilians, troops were training with live ammunition. Rommel's beach obstacles were duplicated and demolition squads practiced taking the sting out of them.

*Special  
landing  
craft.*

As a result of the Dieppe experience, special landing craft fitted with rocket batteries were developed to mow down German beach obstructions. Tens of thousands of vehicles were waterproofed for beach landings and equipped with flexible tubing and steel chimneys that reared high above the engines to suck down air to the motors as they plunged through surf up to the drivers' necks. Some 280 British factories were set working day and night and the entire output of Britain's sheet steel rolling mills was taken over for this great job. The intricate task of loading the invasion ships took two years of expert planning.

*Endless  
ammunition  
dumps.*

The endless ammunition dumps built up along quiet English lanes actually contained more ammunition than was used in all of World War I. Tanks were parked

track to track; aircraft stood wing-top to wing-tip; miles-long convoys of trucks, bulldozers, ducks and self-propelled guns were parked in fields and at roadsides until Britons wondered if their little island would sink under the weight.

Just 30 days before D Day, the last full-scale invasion exercise was completed. Tired GIs and Tommies who had participated in a half-dozen such exercises complained that next time they were called out they wanted to go straight into action. Landing-craft crews who had frequently been sent out on feints to deceive the enemy felt the same. They got their wish. *Invasion exercise.*

Seven days before D Day, which was originally set for Monday, June 5, final loading up began.

As the days ticked off, the tension at SHAEF mounted higher and higher, but at the personal headquarters of the commanders there was an atmosphere of calm. Monty left to subordinates the detail work, which he abhors, and read his favorite author, Anthony Trollope.

Eisenhower refused to move into the big house but set up tent headquarters in the woods. He sleeps in what he calls his "circus wagon," built on a 2½-ton army truck chassis—an idea borrowed from Monty. Its one room is littered with an odd assortment of Wild West yarns and psychological novels. *Eisenhower's tent headquarters.*

On Friday afternoon, June 2, Prime Minister Churchill and Field Marshal Smuts dropped into Eisenhower's camp after touring the coast to watch loading operations

on the "hards." The three men talked for an hour. Churchill suggested that he should go along with the assault forces on D Day.

*Churchill  
wants to  
participate  
in the  
invasion.*

General Eisenhower at first passed off the Prime Minister's remark as a joke, but Churchill returned to the point and finally Eisenhower said flatly that Churchill could not go. He reminded the Prime Minister that if he were lost things would be disorganized in Britain and the whole military operation would be endangered. "Besides," continued Eisenhower, "the warship you'd be on would require more protection than we'd ordinarily give it."

Churchill was persistent. "After all," he said, "I am Minister for National Defense. I can put myself aboard a British warship as an officer. Even the Supreme Commander cannot dictate the complement of a British naval vessel."

While Churchill was speaking in this vein, he was informed that Buckingham Palace was calling him on the telephone. It was the King, who had learned of his Chief Minister's purpose in visiting Eisenhower.

*The King  
stops the  
Prime  
Minister.*

Under no circumstances, said the King, was Mr. Churchill to consider going to France on D Day.

Churchill acceded, in downcast mood.

Saturday evening, June 3, General Eisenhower held the first of four conferences that were to determine D Day, H Hour. The conferees were Monty, neatly dressed for a change, in a new battledress just sent him

from the United States; quiet, soft-spoken Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, Eisenhower's brilliant deputy; Allied Naval Commander in Chief, small, peppery Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay, the man who had brilliantly improvised the "operation dynamo" that rescued the troops from Dunkirk. *Conferees arrive.*

Last to arrive was Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory, Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Air Forces. He had flown down from London in his private puddle-jumper aircraft.

Outside in the fading half light of an English summer day, the weather appeared good to a layman's eyes, but to the weather experts at SHAEF the forecast was discouraging. There were three chief weather midwives assisting at the birth of the great invasion—two British officers and an American Air Force colonel. For weeks past they had been producing forecasts and charts almost hourly. Now their predictions were not favorable. Weather over the Channel and France would worsen steadily, bringing low ceilings which would cancel out air activity, also high winds and rough seas which would hinder beach landings. *Weather forecast discouraging*

Final decision was postponed until 4:30 next morning (Sunday, June 4), and the High Commanders separated to get a few hours' sleep. When they met Sunday morning, the weather men confirmed their earlier forecasts and it was decided to postpone the invasion at least 24 hours. If the weather continued bad, the whole opera- *Invasion postponed 24 hours.*



tion might have to be set back for weeks until the tides and moon again would be right for landings. For only one day in any month would be really suitable. The moon must be full—to let airborne troops operate effectively, to give our fighter-cover and anti-aircraft a chance to keep the Luftwaffe away, and to make difficult the operation of the Nazis' light-shy but very effective E-boats. The tide had to be at low ebb three hours before dawn to expose underwater obstacles for demolition and make the beach right for H-Hour landing.

On Sunday evening, June 4, the Prime Minister and Smuts—later joined by General de Gaulle—dropped in on Eisenhower and sat for a long time discussing aspects of the momentous decision that was Eisenhower's alone to make. They left, and at nine o'clock, Eisenhower held another staff conference at SHAEF. The weather men were called in singly. Their forecasts, arrived at independently of each other, tallied and they made a more favorable picture. There was every prospect that weather over France and the Channel would steadily improve during the next 48 hours.

The High Commanders and their Chiefs of Staff weighed the gamble they were about to take. After 45 minutes, tentative agreement was reached that the invasion would go on. But they decided to hold one last conference at 4:30 on Monday morning, June 5, for the final word.

*Full  
moon  
needed.*

*Improve-  
ment in  
weather  
expected.*

Back at his caravan, General Eisenhower turned in and slept a few hours. At four o'clock, he went back to SHAEF. Around the table sat Tedder, Montgomery, Leigh-Mallory, Admiral Ramsay and their Chiefs of Staff. The first weather man was called in. He stuck to his original forecast. There was good weather ahead. It might not come for a day or two. On the other hand it might come within 12 hours. The other two weather men, separately questioned, agreed.

General Eisenhower summed up the position to his Commanders. Everything was ready. If they delayed *Everything ready.* much longer, German reconnaissance aircraft were bound to find out the extent of mass shipping and landing craft assembled off the ports. The American assault force and the United States naval task force were already under weigh and the longer they stayed at sea, the more difficult it would be to keep the many landing craft shepherded into convoys. A few more days under German observation and the invasion might lose its chance of tactical surprise.

The weather was a gamble, General Eisenhower admitted, but it was up to himself and the High Commanders to rise to it, or turn away. They all knew what turning away implied—delay, perhaps weeks; the intricate loading process to be done over again; bad effect on the morale of troops. *The weather a gamble.*

Eisenhower turned to Admiral Ramsay and asked, "What do you think?"

*The "Air"*  
*willing.*

Ramsay replied, "I'd like to hear the 'Air' give his views."

Air Chief Marshal Leigh-Mallory spoke with deliberation but left no doubt that "Air" was willing to gamble on the weather experts' predictions.

"All right," said Admiral Ramsay, with mock belligerency, "if the 'Air' thinks he can do it, the Navy certainly can."

*"Let 'er*  
*rip."*

General Eisenhower smiled, but only briefly. This was the moment the peoples of the Allied nations had sweated and toiled for. Looking down the table at his commanders, his face more serious than it ever has been or is likely to be again, he said quietly, "Okay, let 'er rip."

Those around the table rose quickly and hurried from the room to set the operation in motion. Ike called after them, "Good luck!"

He was last to emerge from the room. He was walking heavily and those who saw him remarked later that each of the eight stars on his shoulders seemed to weigh a ton. He drove quickly back to his "circus wagon" and turned in without waking his aides. . . .

*Supreme*  
*Commander*  
*useless.*

With the mammoth operation at last under way, there was no one more useless than the Supreme Commander. During the long day before D Day, General Eisenhower had nothing to do but visit his troops. In the morning, he drove to a nearby port and chatted with British soldiers loading on their LCI's. In the evening he drove to

airfields where men of the 101st U. S. Airborne Division were loading in their transport planes and black gliders. As he rolled up in his four-starred Cadillac at airfield after airfield, the men were already coloring their faces with cocoa and linseed oil. He went about from group to group wisecracking with them, partly to relieve their tension, partly his own.

As the boys climbed into their dark planes, the General called out, "Good luck!" He was noticeably affected. To drop several divisions of airborne and paratroop forces miles behind the Atlantic wall, long before H Hour on the beaches, was a tremendous risk. Many of his own staff officers, British and American, had strongly advised against it. If the beachheads weren't established securely it meant several divisions of superbly trained troops would be lost. The General took the risk. He knew that, in taking it, he was sending some of them to certain death. They knew it, too. *"Good luck!"*

The first phone call on D Day, June 6, came to Eisenhower's office about 7 a.m. Commander Harry Butcher, Eisenhower's friend and naval aide, answered. It was Leigh-Mallory reporting that airborne and paratroop landings had been unbelievably successful and that the first assault landings had been successfully made. Butcher stepped across the cinders to Ike's "circus wagon" expecting to find the General still asleep, but he was in bed propped up behind a Wild West novel. Butcher told him *Airborne and paratroop landings are successful.*

Leigh-Mallory's news. "Am I glad!" breathed the General.

*Germans  
taken by  
surprise.*

Admiral Ramsay reported that the naval part of the show was 100 per cent successful, with few losses. In fact, the landings had taken the Germans entirely by surprise. Ramsay had craftily sent a decoy convoy up through the Channel late on the eve of D Day. The German coastal gunners had opened up with everything they had on the unfortunate decoy convoy and then shut down for the night. Whereupon the real invasion armada sailed unmolested right to its goal.

*Comparatively quiet  
D Day.*

At breakfast that D-Day morning, General Eisenhower was animated and happy for the first time in months. He talked to Butcher about other D days he'd been on—North Africa, which he directed from Gibraltar; Pantelleria, Sicily, which he directed from Malta; and Salerno. Compared to these, said the General, the invasion of France had produced the quietest D day of all.

The weather remained his biggest worry and even before Butcher had called him he had been out of his caravan, peering up at the skies through the trees. As the sun began occasionally to peep through the clouds he relaxed.

*First  
signal  
from the  
beaches.*

At the nerve center of SHAEF there was one chilling moment that morning, when the first signal came from the beaches. It was rushed to the Staff Chiefs. They opened the message and read that the first assault wave

had drowned. Faces went white. Then someone asked hurriedly for a repeat on the message. For a minute or two they waited. Then came the repeat. There had been a mistake. The correct message was that the first assault wave had *grounded*.

Within 48 hours of H Hour, the invasion spearhead had established a foothold in France. And without the frightful toll of casualties which professional pessimists had predicted. On D-plus-six, a week after the invasion began, more than 500 square miles of Europe had been occupied by Allied armies. The battle was by no means over. The lives of many of our bravest and best were yet to be taken. But the bridgehead into France had been established.

*Bridgehead  
with France  
established.*

What Philip of Spain and Napoleon failed to do, what Hitler never had courage to try, the Allied armies under Eisenhower had dared and done.

**T**HIS was it—D Day and almost H Hour. A few miles ahead on the low-lying coast of France, not far from Cherbourg, a lighthouse winked peacefully. The bridge telegraph tinkled and our engines stopped throbbing. The anchor chain rattled through its hawsehole. Our whistle roared a short, hoarse signal and all around us the silhouettes of dozens of other ships came to rest. It was very quiet there in the moonlight; much too quiet, I thought, as we waited for

*Just  
before  
H Hour.*

the first German gun to blast its challenge from the shore.

*Germans  
unaware.*

They could hardly believe it in the wardroom of the flagship. Turning from a big wall chart, the Admiral's navigation officer shut his dividers with a snap. "On the nose, by God!" he announced. The intelligence officer rubbed his head. "Not a smell of them all the way across," he said, "and if they knew we were here, they'd have opened up already." The chief of staff smiled his wry smile. "Maybe they're just waiting to give us a surprise when they get us figured out. We can't be *that* good."

But he was wrong. The big German coastal batteries remained silent, and as nerve-racking minutes ticked by, the battleships, transports and landing craft of our task force slid into their exactly prearranged positions unmolested.

*Zigzag  
course  
across  
Channel.*

It was very quiet in the ship, too. We had been steaming all day on a long zigzag course, designed to make the Germans think us heading for Pas de Calais rather than the Cherbourg Peninsula. Spirits were gay during the morning. The long, dull months of training were over at last, and the colossal spectacle we were watching took our minds off what lay ahead. Troops lined the rails as we picked up unit after unit of our tremendous convoy at various meeting places along the coast. There were endless rows of waddling tank and infantry landing ships—their barrage balloons bobbing crazily in the

sky above them—flanked by escort craft of every kind.

And then over the horizon came the impressive line of our supporting warships. A deft maneuver brought us into column ahead of the battleship *Nevada* and the cruisers *Tuscaloosa* and *Quincy*. The big guns bristling behind us looked very good. “Gee,” said a young soldier standing next to me, “that’s a lot of cannons.”

*“A lot of  
cannons.”*

I agreed happily that it certainly was a lot of cannons.

As the afternoon wore on, tension grew. Everybody was being very polite. On the bridge, even the crusty officer who ran the ship gave orders less brusquely than usual. But there were no jitters, no traces of hysteria. A leathery Marine colonel, veteran of many battles, managed a wintry smile and said that, for green troops, the kids looked pretty promising. Coming from him, that was praise indeed.

*Troops  
look  
promising.*

When an alarm bell suddenly began to clang and a bosun’s rasping voice came over the intercom—“All hands man your battle stations!”—the call to general quarters was welcome relief. There really was a Nazi plane ahead this time. It was 10:30 p. m. But nothing happened.

In the combat intelligence room—nerve center of the Admiral’s command post—a vast picture of the big crossing was unfolding. We were one of two invasion forces—American, under Rear Admiral Alan Kirk, U.S.N., and British, under Sir Philip Vian, Royal Navy. Five thousand ships were moving across the English

*Two  
invasion  
forces.*



*Intricate  
communi-  
cations  
system.*

Channel, assembled from several dozen ports and routed on exact schedule through narrow lanes swept and marked by minesweepers several hours before. The two task force commanders were linked with each other and with Supreme Headquarters ashore by the most intricate military communications system ever devised.

There was surprisingly little activity, however. The operation plan covered all details of every ship's movements and it worked like a clock.

It was about 1:30 in the morning of June 6 when an officer in the combat intelligence room suddenly barked: "Two hundred planes coming over."

"Enemy?" shrilled a young officer.

"No," said the commander, "they'll be the airborne boys."

*Airborne  
transports.*

And they were. One, two, three, and then score after score of the big transports thundered by overhead. On the peninsula, German flak began roaring and searchlights swept the sky.

A few minutes later, the commander turned to the radioman monitoring German military stations, alert for the first sudden burst of activity. "Well?" he asked. We held our breaths. "Still very light traffic, sir," said the British expert, reading a Western thriller as he twiddled his dials. He was very efficient, and he always caught everything worth catching, but he considered the war, as he told me, a very dull way of earning one's living. He wasn't at all disturbed, as I was, about the

danger of German searchlights picking us up. Fortunately, when they started poking around, the beams were deflected by clouds, and the Nazis apparently decided it was just another air raid. The coastal batteries which could have given us terrible punishment were still silent.

*Coastal  
batteries  
remain  
silent.*

We knew that just then airborne divisions were going down. Parachutists went down first, to clear strategic fields of the poles and other traps which the Germans—forewarned by careless publicity of the scope of our airborne operations—had set for gliders. The parachutists worked quickly with grenades and mine detectors, but the glidermen suffered casualties nevertheless.

Along the beaches, Commandos and Rangers were busy, too. A dozen large units were mopping up crucial strong points, overrunning coastal batteries and wrecking communications centers. One of the most powerful German coast-defense batteries was tucked away in a huge concrete fortress, almost impregnable even to air and artillery attack. Immensely massive steel doors barricaded its entrance. Two Commandos stole a German staff car and, yelling, “Die Invasion hat begonnen!” at the top of their lungs, they careened up to the sentries and startled them into opening the gates wide enough to throw in their bombs. After that the gates could not be closed, and within a few minutes the last of the German garrison fell under a hail of lead from the Commandos’ tommyguns.

*“Die  
Invasion  
hat  
begonnen!”*

*Preinvasion  
raiders.*

Up and down 60 miles of coast, the preinvasion raiders were doing their work on schedule. Their incredible exploits will make one of the greatest chapters in military history.

All this, however, seemed very far away to us on the Admiral's flagship. As the reports came in, a bell would ring. The commander would read the message and put a new sticker on his chart. Finally, at three o'clock, the silence ahead of us split wide open. Pathfinder planes of the RAF had roared by overhead. Huge chandelier flares, red and green, came down over the beach. And then all hell broke loose. Geysers of fire and sand in closely patterned rows flashed upward as bombers, following their guides, laid down stick after stick. German flak spat from all directions, their tracers arching fantastic fireworks into the sky. They were pretty accurate and from time to time a mortally wounded plane would plunge blazing earthward like a meteor, ending in a leaping flash of fire as it struck the ground.

*Enemy  
fire pretty  
accurate.*

On the bridge, a veteran captain—seemingly oblivious of the din—gave orders for lowering landing craft from our davits. He paused to look at the booming, lethal pyrotechnics and remarked to another correspondent and me that they reminded him of a "hell of a Fourth of July" he remembered as a kid.

*Like  
Fourth  
of July.*

All around us landing boats were forming circles ready to take off the troops from transports for the dash ashore. "Boat team number five form at station three"

came the bosun's bored voice over the loudspeaker system.

Dawn was breaking, and on the flag bridge, the Admiral and the General commanding the division we were putting ashore were worried. The waves were too high and the landing craft were bobbing around like corks. Troops clambering down the nets were having a tough time. Every time a GI landed with a smack on the bottom of his boat—his tin hat flying in one direction, his gun in the other—our hearts went into our throats. Was this going to be the catastrophe we had just avoided in the Sicilian landing?

Somehow at last the landing craft were loaded. The bleak strained faces at command positions began to relax. At 5:40—as though at touch of a button—the warships ahead of us began bellowing. Our teeth rattled as flash followed flash and shells of every caliber whined from the battleships, cruisers and destroyers into the beach. Over the whole assault area, 600 guns in 80 ships put down 2000 tons of explosives in ten minutes.

Actually both the bombing and the naval gunnery were the most carefully prepared and coördinated barrage of the war. On the highly important chart in the wardroom which scheduled the attack of every bomber squadron and the fire of every ship in our task force, German positions and batteries were marked. Their priority for attention had been decided according to their size, range and ability to interfere with our operation.

*Coastal  
batteries  
destroyed.*

One coastal battery particularly, set in the side of a hill and practically invulnerable to air attack, could have mauled us badly while unloading. "That one, gentlemen," the Admiral had said at pre-D Day briefing, "is a *must*." Salvos of 14-inch shells from one of our battle-ships began hitting it precisely on schedule and, when a Ranger party arrived there a little later for mopping up, they found not one live German in the fortification.

*Beautiful  
shooting.*

Small, slow spotting planes cruised lazily over the target areas, their observers talking directly to their fire-control officers afloat and correcting aim as the shells came over. It was beautiful shooting and at almost regular intervals the commander in our intelligence room put a new sticker against one of the red rings on the chart. "DESTROYED," it said.

*Demolition  
crews.*

Behind this curtain, the loaded landing boats formed exactly spaced waves for the final run to the beach. Heading them, Navy scouts in control craft found the exact boundaries of assigned beaches—no easy job in the dust and smoke of a bombardment which had blasted almost every recognizable landmark, and in the teeth of machine-gun and vicious mortar fire. The scouts guided in demolition crews of the naval beach battalion who, with their bombs and Bangalore torpedoes, had to blast a way through the maze of hedgehog-like steel structures, up-ended rails, barbed wire and mines. We could see them calmly paddling boats and setting their charges, with lead and steel slapping the water all around them. The



D-DAY, JUNE 6, 1944. NAZI UNDERWATER OBSTACLES ARE REVEALED BY THE EBBING TIDE ON A NORMANDY BEACH.  
IN THE FOREGROUND ARE ALLIED VEHICLES WRECKED DURING THE LANDING OPERATIONS. (Pages 275-278)

FROM AN OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH



leaders of this toughest job were men with Mediterranean experience, but the rest were boys being shot at for the first time.

Through cleared channels came like clockwork the personnel landing craft loaded with troops, and tank landing craft, with tanks firing from them. Over their heads and from the flanks, rocket craft sent fantastic salvos swishing, to explode mines on shore with their closely patterned miniature earthquakes and to tear open barbed wire. Small fast rocket craft, motor torpedo boats, flak ships and destroyers close inshore poured a last burst of drenching fire, then again as by clockwork, the curtain lifted and the leading landing craft rammed their bows into the sand, to drop ramps and discharge line after line of crouching, running, firing men and roaring tanks.

*Personnel  
landing  
craft.*

It was H Hour and the invasion had begun.

*H Hour.*

On and behind some of the beaches in the hours just before and after H, bad luck and mistakes caused heavy losses. One airborne outfit struck an area which the Germans happened to be using for anti-invasion maneuvers. Nazi machine gunners were in place and waiting as the Allied troops stepped out of the gliders. In one beach sector, the landing force struck an accidental last-minute German troop concentration.

The weather was not at all coöperative. Four-foot waves delayed troop loading at some places by over 60 minutes past schedule. By that time, the fast Normandy

*The weather  
is not  
coöperative.*



tide had dropped sharply, landing craft grounded far out and left men wading through four feet of water and under leaden hail without cover. The delay let the Germans regroup their artillery and it cost us lives, but it did not give them time to bring up sizable reinforcements which might have caused disaster.

*Complete  
surprise.*

On the whole, however, surprise was complete. The picture I had seen ahead of me was repeated on beaches up and down the line. The Germans had, as a gold-braided wit said, been "caught with their panzers down." The American and Royal navies had fulfilled Admiral Ramsay's promise to Eisenhower—"We will land you there to the inch." "The miracle," as Ernie Pyle wrote, "of landing there at all" had been accomplished.

*Beachheads  
are unlike  
anything  
else on  
earth.*

THIS Normandy beachhead of ours is the fourth beachhead I have been on in the last two years. All beachheads are unlike anything else on earth. Thousands of things are going on at once, from life to death, from hysterical triumph to crushing failure. Night is different from day only because the light is poorer, the tracer bullets more lurid, the waves creamier and your particular task either harder or easier. You work until your job is done or your superior feels too exhausted to work you any longer. Then you sleep until prodded awake by explosions or bullets or some other urgency.

Our first view of France, from the U. S. Coast Guard troop transport that carried us across the Channel, was that reflected by anti-aircraft shells lighting up the night above Normandy. It was a little past 1 a.m. on D Day, and paratroopers were beginning to land, their planes showered by whole buckets of blazing shells and golf-ball flak. One plane went down, then another and another, in plain sight of our ship, while our men stood silently in the darkness, their faces grim and their hearts sick. *Anti-aircraft shells.*

The transport anchored about 11 miles offshore, and at dawn, after a terrific naval and air bombardment of the beaches, we transferred to small boats for the landing. The boats were being thrown five and ten feet into the air and digging deep into the troughs between the waves, and the leap from the slippery ladder to a greasy hatch had to be timed nicely. *Transfer to small landing boats.*

To the right and left and ahead and behind, farther than a man could see, the scene was the same—a spreading mass of ships lying to, waiting patiently as cows to be unloaded, each deep laden and teeming with men and goods. The waters between them were teeming too, with small boats threading back and forth and hanging to the sides of the larger vessels like the metal spangles of a tambourine.

We passed under a sky full of airplanes laid layer upon layer on top of each other. We passed warships bombarding the enemy, and saw the splashes of enemy *Sky full of airplanes.*

shells trying to hit the ships. An inferno was brewing on the beach; smoke was clotting up from it, and blinding white and orange blasts of explosions flickered hotly.

Then the war reached out a giant paw and struck dead ahead of us. There was a big explosion. Gray smoke and white water rose hundreds of feet into the air. Out of its center a mortally stricken minesweeper plunged and tilted, bleeding oil in spouts as if an artery had been severed. Then it righted itself and lay quietly, with the big gaseous-looking bubbling that ships make when they die.

*Stricken  
mine-  
sweeper.*

Standing by to pick up survivors, we came first to those who had been blown farthest by the explosion. They were all dead. "Leave the dead and take the living first," cried Lieutenant John Tripson.

And then, from all over the sea around us, sounding small and childlike in the wild world of waters, came cries of "Help! Help!" and one startling, pathetic cry of "Please help me!"

*'Help!  
Help!'*

Big John Tripson is a Mississippi boy who used to play football for the Detroit Lions. His strength came in handy now. The wet boys in the sea with all they had on them weighed up to 300 pounds. Big John reached out and scooped them up with one hand, holding onto the boat with the other. We fished six out of the water, two of them uninjured, taking only the living and leaving the dead awash like derelicts in the unheeding sea. One man was naked. Every stitch of clothing,

including his shoes and socks, had been blown off and his body was welted all over as if he had been thrashed by a cat-o'-nine-tails. *Clothes blown off.*

Other rescue ships had come alongside the mine-sweeper now, and we stood out again on our mission. Close to us was the U. S. cruiser *Tuscaloosa*. A German battery had challenged her, and she and an American destroyer had taken up the challenge. The Germans were using a very fine smokeless powder that made it impossible to spot their gun sites unless one happened to be looking right there when the muzzle flash gave them away. They also had some kind of bellows arrangement that puffed out a billow of gun smoke from a position safely removed from the actual battery. This was to throw off the spotters. But their best protection was the casements of earth-and-concrete 12½ feet thick. *German gun sites protected.*

The affair between the battery and the warships had the color of a duel to it. When the Germans threw down the gauntlet you could see the gauntlet splash in the water. It was a range-finding shell. Then the shells started walking toward our warship, in a straight line. If you followed them on back you would eventually get to the battery. This was what our warship commanders were trying to do. It was a race between skills. If the Germans landed on the ship before our gunners could plot the line of their shells, then they would win. If our gunners could calculate more rapidly, then *we* would win. *Duel between battery and warships.*

Captain Waller, in command of the *Tuscaloosa*, held his \$15,000,000 warship steady, setting it up as bait to keep the Germans shooting while his gunners worked out their calculations.

The destroyer—I could not identify it—stuck right with our cruiser. The splashes kept coming closer. Our ships did not move. The splashes started at 500 yards off and then went quickly to 300 yards. Now, I thought, the warships would move. But they remained silent and motionless. The next salvo was 200 yards off. The next one would do it, the next one would get them, I was thinking. The next salvo blotted out the sides of the vessels in a whip of white water, throwing a cascade across the deck of the *Tuscaloosa*.

Now in this final second the race was at its climax. The Germans knew our ships would move. They had to guess which way, they had to race to correct range and deflection for the next salvo. Our ships had to guess what the Germans would think, and do the opposite.

The destroyer had one little last trick up its sleeve. And that tipped the whole duel our way. Its black gang down below mixed rich on fuel, and a gust of black smoke poured out of the stacks. The ship had turned into the wind, so that the smoke was carried backward. The Germans could not tell whether it was the wind doing that or the destroyer's forward speed. They decided that it was forward speed and swung their guns, and straddled perfectly the position the destroyer would have occu-

*Salvos  
come  
closer  
and  
closer.*

*Gust of  
black  
smoke  
fools the  
Germans.*

pied had it gone forward. But the destroyer had reversed engines and gone backward.

Now the game was up for the Huns. The warships swung around in their new positions and brought their guns to bear; their shells scored direct hits, and the Germans lay silently and hopelessly in their earth.

*The game  
is up  
for the  
Huns.*

On the first beach we touched the air smelled sweet and clean with the sea. Clouds of sea gulls swooped overhead, filling the air with a whole twitter of flute notes as they complained of the invasion by American troops. There was bleak strength here, and bare wild blowy beauty, and death over every inch of it.

The Germans had sown every single inch of the soil with mines. In 24 hours our men had cleared only narrow paths, losing 17 wounded and one dead in doing so.

*Every inch  
of soil  
mined.*

They walked, slept, ate, lived and worked along those paths. When they walked they put one foot carefully before the other. When they lay along the paths to sleep they put rocks alongside themselves to keep from turning over.

We had landed in the early afternoon. The wind was dying then, and the black and gray smoke stood up in spires wherever one looked and hung in the gentle wind. Smoke came from planes that had been shot down and from mines being set off by mine detectors and from American guns and German shells. Normandy seemed to be burning.

*Spires  
of  
smoke.*

*Men land  
and go  
to work.*

Men were coming out of the sea continually and starting to work—digging, hammering, bulldozing, trucking, planning, ordering, surveying, shooting and being shot at. Amid the artillery and machine-gun fire, and the rush and smack of shells, you could hear typewriters making their patient clatter and telephones ringing with homey businesslike sounds.

German prisoners were coming down one side of a road while American assault infantry were going up the other side. The Americans had that odd preoccupied look of men going into battle; but they were a fine, bold, brawny sight as they swung along.

*Each  
soldier  
follows  
the man  
ahead.*

"Where are you going?" I asked one of them. "I don't know," he replied. "I'm following the man ahead." The man ahead was following the man ahead, too. Finally I asked the head of the column. "I'm following the column ahead," he said.

I laughed and he laughed, but he laughed with a jubilant sound. "Well," he told me, "it's not as bad as it sounds. We've all got the same idea in this army, and if you just follow the man ahead you're bound to get to where the doing is to be done." He looked very tan and healthy as he said this, walking along with a long-legged slouch, chewing a slab of cheese from a ration tin as if it were a cud of tobacco. He was a soldier to be proud of.

Our men would go along until fired upon. Then they would investigate what was firing on them. If they had

enough force on hand to solve the problem, as the military saying goes, they solved it. If not, they contained the problem and sent for what force was needed—air, artillery or ground reinforcement.

The first French people I saw were a family of typical Norman farmers—tall, blue-eyed, sturdy and very red-checked. American soldiers going up to the front had left the mark of their passing on the household's dining table—chewing gum, hard candy and some cigarettes. We talked about the bombardment, and I asked how they managed to live through it. *Norman farmers.*

"An act of God," they said. "But the Germans, they were worse than the bombardment." *Bombardment "An act of God."*

I had forgotten what the French word for "run" is, and I asked if the German soldiers billeted in their house had "promenaded away quickly" from the bombardment. They all laughed heartily.

"The Germans," one of the men said, "promenaded from the bombardment—ZIP! The way an airplane promenades through the air."

The Germans were tough veteran fighters. You never got a chance to make more than one mistake against them. Yet they were willing to surrender and seemed only to want sufficiently strong inducement. They were veterans of duty in Russia. The Russians seem to have made them very tired of the war. They fight while they think they are winning, but it is not hard to hammer them into believing they are losing. Then they give up. *Germans are tough veteran fighters.*



*German  
prisoners  
on the  
beach.*

When I returned to the beach more German prisoners were being brought down to await transportation to England. The bay and its immense weight of shipping was spread out before them. A German officer, when he saw that vast mass of ships, lifted his hand and let it drop in a gesture of utter despair, as if to say, "Who can win against this?"

But the thing I remember most clearly about this long day was a particular moment in the twilight. It is a picture frozen in my mind—the way a scream sometimes seems frozen in the air.

*Low-swoop-  
ing air  
raid.*

I was aboard an LCT moving both American and German wounded from the murderous beach. The Nazi prisoners sat silently slumped side by side with the silent Americans. We were a few hundred yards offshore when there was a low-swooping air raid which came close enough for me to feel the desperate heat of one Hun plane. It hit like a bundle of fists against my face.

Very few of the men aboard stirred. Most of them were immersed in the apathy that seizes a man when he knows he has done all he can possibly do.

*Truck  
on a  
cloud.*

A large, sooty cloud of smoke sprang up from the beach as abruptly as if prodded. Our LCT trembled all over. There was debris in that cloud—big, black, torn chunks of it—and sitting on top of the cloud, poised delicately there for a moment many feet in the air, was a truck, all intact. It was silhouetted so sharply in the twilight that I could make out its wheels. Then the blasting

sound of the explosion came clapping like a huge hand against our ears.

A German officer told me the war would be over in October because the Americans and Russians could not fight longer than that. I told him that all the enlisted men among the Germans I had spoken to had agreed the war would be over in October because Germany could not hold out longer. *War will be over in October.*

"Your men seem very tired of fighting," I said. "Do you have trouble convincing them that Hitler will lead them to a happy end?"

"German soldiers," he said, "fight for the Fatherland and there is no separation possible in any German mind between *Der Führer* and *Das Vaterland*." *Der Führer and Das Vaterland.*

As the officer delivered his pronouncement about Hitler and the German mind an enlisted man sitting next to him winked at me. I smiled broadly back at him.

Suddenly I saw a German Heinkel seemingly stuck in the air above me. I saw the first of its stick of bombs drop into the water. Then I threw myself against the iron deck. The German officer clamped down on his emotions and the pain of his wounds and stood erect to show that no German was afraid. He posed himself insolently against the rail, smoking a cigarette in a careful, graceful, stiff-handed way while one knee wilted slightly in the manner approved for gentlemen posing before a mantel. I looked away in disgust from this Nazi *Nazi superman.*

superman across the open deck where the brown-blanketed seriously wounded lay in silent rows.

*Fires in  
Monte-  
bourg.*

As we made our way out into the darkening sea we could see fires springing up from the town of Montebourg. The fires were the work of the *Tuscaloosa*—or, as I found out later when I got aboard the vessel, more specifically the work of the Army's Lieutenant Joe PuGash, of Tampa, serving as spotter with a naval shore fire control party; and Lieutenants Theral O'Bryant, of Tampa, and William Braybrook, of Ohio, sitting deep in the ship, in the plotting room. These boys had been talking to each other over the radio.

*Radio con-  
versation.*

"German infantry is entrenching itself in the main square of the town," Joe said. "Let's ginger them up." The guns fired.

"Cease firing; mission successful, old boy," said Joe.

Two roads lead into Montebourg. The Germans were shoveling reinforcements down from Valognes. Joe was changing places to get a line on these roads when suddenly in a very abrupt way he gave a target and cried, "Open fire!"

*"Open  
fire!"*

Immediately afterward there was silence from him.

O'Bryant sat listening to the silence from Joe for a long time. A British voice from a plane overhead brought him back to work.

"There are transports coming into town, troops getting out of trucks and taking up positions near a cemetery

there." The voice was tranquil and most British. "Would you care for a go at them?" *British tranquility.*

After the *Tuscaloosa* had fired a salvo the British voice lost most of its tranquillity. "Beautiful!" it cried. "Oh, beautiful! What a lovely shot!"

It seems that ten trucks full of Huns had been blown across acres of field by a single straddle. The British voice abruptly regained its calm. "I'm afraid I'll have to be off now," it said. "My covering plane has been shot down and a Jerry is shooting at me. Good-bye all."

"The best to you and thanks," shouted O'Bryant. But he never heard the British voice again.

Instead he heard from Joe. The boy was back overlooking Montebourg.

"I couldn't keep on spotting for you," he explained. *The spotter.* He sounded very tired. "The Germans had us in a barrel for two hours and if I had lifted my head to see what was going on I'd have got it knocked off." Joe began running around all over the place, spotting infantry positions, troop movements, observation posts and strong points. "You sure shot the hell out of them that time," he kept saying in his tired voice.

About the time we were huffing and clanking past the *Tuscaloosa*, O'Bryant came out on deck for a breather. He helped us watch Montebourg burn. "That Joe is sure building himself up a hot time there," he said.

The wounded to whom I talked gave some idea of *Wounded paratrooper.* what the day had been like. A paratrooper captain said,

*Leg broken  
in landing.*

"When I landed I broke my leg. I had spent two years training, and four seconds after I go to work I'm out of it. I rolled into some kind of ditch. There the kraut-burgers were shooting at me but they didn't hit me. I waited in the ditch and thought, Well, your total contribution to the war effort is that you spared the time of a man in the burying detail by finding your own grave. A German started coming toward me. What's the German for *Kamerad*, I wondered, and remembered that *Kamerad* is the German for *Kamerad*. Then I thought, the hell with that. I'm going to get at least one lick in in this war. So I killed the German. I waited till he got close and aimed for his groin and walked my tommygun right up the middle to his chin. Then I passed out. But I got one. My training wasn't altogether wasted."

*Training  
not  
wasted.*

A naval officer, suffering from exposure, said: "The whole stern blew up. You know, it's a funny thing. There was a kid blown higher than the mast. I saw him in the air, arms flailing around, legs kicking, and recognized his face there in the air. That kid was picked up later and all he had was a broken leg."

A glider pilot, shot down behind German lines, said, "I walked all night. I went toward where the guns were shooting and then I met a Frenchman. I gave him my rations and he gave me wine."

*Glider  
pilot gets  
drunk.*

"Boy, did I get drunk! I walked through the whole German lines—and our lines, too—drunk as a goat and singing."

[June 15, 1944. United States troops invade Saipan *Impossible to record everything.* Island in the Mariana group. England is attacked by robot bombs launched from Pas-de-Calais area. B-29 Superfortresses bomb Japan. June 19. Task Force 58 off Philippine Islands repulses large Japanese sea force. June 22. G.I. Bill of Rights is signed by President Roosevelt. June 27. Allies capture Cherbourg. July 1-22. Delegates to the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, N.H., agree to establish International Monetary Fund. *Bretton Woods Conference.* July 8. United States forces complete conquest of Saipan. July 20. Guam is invaded by United States assault forces. July 31. United States Marines gain control of Tinian Island in the Marianas after 9-day battle. August 10. Conquest of Guam is completed. August 15. American and French troops invade southern coast of France. August 25. Paris is liberated.]



## V-DAY IN PARIS

(A.D. 1944)

ERNIE PYLE

WE ARE in Paris—on the first day of liberation—one of the great days of all time. This is being written, as other correspondents are writing their pieces, under an emotional tension, a pent-up semi-delirium. *One of the great days of all time.*

Our approach to Paris was hectic. We had waited for three days in a nearby town while hourly our reports on what was going on in Paris changed and contradicted themselves. We were about to break through the German ring around Paris and come to the aid of the brave French Forces of the Interior who were holding parts of the city. We could not bear to think of the destruction of Paris, and yet at times it seemed inevitable.

That was the situation this morning when we left Rambouillet and decided to feel our way timidly toward the very outskirts of Paris. For fifteen minutes we drove through a flat gardenlike country under a magnificent bright sun and amidst greenery, with distant banks of *Approach to Paris.*

From "Brave Men," by permission of Henry Holt and Company.



*Pandemonium of great joy.*

smoke pillaring the horizon ahead. And then we came gradually into the suburbs, and a pandemonium of surely the greatest joy that has ever happened.

The streets were lined as by Fourth of July parade crowds at home, only this crowd was almost hysterical. The streets of Paris are very wide, and they were packed on each side. The women were all brightly dressed, with flowers in their hair and big flashy earrings. Everybody was throwing flowers, and even serpentine.

As our jeep eased through the crowds, thousands of people crowded up, leaving only a narrow corridor, and frantic men, women and children grabbed us and kissed us and shook our hands and beat on our shoulders and slapped our backs and shouted their joy as we passed.

That first afternoon only the main streets into the city were open and used, and they were packed with humanity. The side streets were roped off and deserted, because the Germans had feeble fortifications and some snipers.

The second day was a little different from the first. You could sense that during those first few hours of liberation the people were almost animal-like in their panic of joy and relief and gratitude. They were actually crying as they kissed you and screamed, "Thank you, oh thank you, for coming!"

*Second day a prepared festival.*

But on the second day it was a deliberate holiday. It was a festival prepared for and gone into on purpose. You could tell that the women had prettied up especially.

The old men had on their old medals, and the children were scrubbed and Sunday-dressed until they hurt.

And then everybody came downtown. By 2 in the afternoon the kissing and shouting and autographing and applauding were almost deafening. The pandemonium of a free and lovable Paris reigned again.

*Welcome  
and  
applause  
from Paris  
crowds.*

They pinned bright little flags and badges all over you. Amateur cameramen took pictures. They tossed flowers and friendly tomatoes into our jeep. One little girl even threw a bottle of cider into ours.

As you drove along, gigantic masses of waving and screaming humanity clapped their hands as though applauding a fine performance in a theater. We in the jeeps smiled back until we had set grins on our faces. We waved until our arms gave out, and then we just waggled our fingers. We shook hands until our hands were bruised and scratched. If the jeep stopped, we were swamped instantly.

They sang songs. They sang wonderful French songs we had never heard. And they sang "Tipperary" and "Madelon" and "Over There" and the "Marseillaise."

*Songs of  
the freed  
Parisians.*

I was in a jeep with Henry Gorrell of the United Press, Capt. Carl Pergler of Washington, D. C., and Corp. Alexander Belon, of Amherst, Massachusetts. Everybody, even beautiful girls, insisted on kissing us on both cheeks. Somehow I got started kissing babies that were held up by their parents, and for a while I looked like a baby-kissing politician. The fact that I hadn't shaved

for days, and was gray-bearded as well as baldheaded, made no difference.

The streets were lined with green trees and modern buildings. All the stores were closed in holiday. Bicycles were so thick I have an idea there have been plenty of accidents today, with tanks and jeeps overrunning the populace. Of all the days of national joy I ever witnessed, this is the biggest.

*Biggest  
day of  
national  
joy.*

[August 21-October 7, 1944. Delegates to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference draw up United Nations Charter. August 30. Soviet troops take Rumanian oil city of Ploesti. September 3. Allies capture Brussels. September 4. Antwerp capitulates to Allied troops. September 11. Germany is invaded for the first time since start of the war. September 11-16. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill confer at Second Quebec Conference. September 12. German garrison at Le Havre falls to Allies. Rumania signs armistice with the United Nations. September 15. United States Marines invade Peleliu Island in the Palau group. Morotai Island is also invaded by American troops. September 24. British forces land on Greek mainland. September 25-27. Approximately 2,000 survivors of 8,000 British paratroopers escape German trap at Arnhem. October 18. Hitler announces creation of *volksstrum* (home army) to defend the Reich. All German males between 16 and 60 are mobilized. October 20. United States forces under Gen-

*Germany  
is invaded.*

*Paratroopers  
escape  
Arnhem  
trap.*

A.D. 1944

## V-DAY IN PARIS

General MacArthur invade Leyte Island in the Philippines. *Leyte Island is invaded.*  
October 21. German city of Aachen falls to Allies.  
October 23-26. United States Pacific Fleet decisively defeats Japanese Navy in Second Battle of the Philippine Sea.]



# AMERICA'S GREATEST NAVAL BATTLE

(A.D. 1944)

QUENTIN REYNOLDS—GEORGE E. JONES—  
FRANK D. MORRIS—RALPH TEATSORTH

**A**DMIRAL William F. "Bull" Halsey is a legend in and out of the United States Navy. His men admire him because he is a fighting admiral and because he speaks their blunt, salty language. His hunches, born of experience, pure instinct, and hatred of the Japs, seem to put his forces in the right place at the right time.

For instance, his ships seemed to be in the right place late on the afternoon of October 16th, when an American pilot on patrol sighted a force of Japanese cruisers and destroyers moving at high speed from the northeast toward a mighty American fleet, waiting just over the horizon.

*Halsey's  
ships  
always in  
the right  
place at  
right time.*

When Halsey got word of the approaching Jap force he felt sure his prayers were being answered. So did Vice-Admiral Marc Mitscher, commander of the famous carrier task force which included the *Essex*, *Lexington*, *Hornet*, *Wasp* and *Enterprise*. Their planes had been roving the Philippines area for the past two months,

Condensed from article written by Quentin Reynolds, George E. Jones, Frank D. Morris, and Ralph Teatsorth for *Collier's*, *The National Weekly*.

blasting some two hundred Jap airfields and knocking down more hundreds of Jap planes.

*Ordnance  
crews  
work  
late.*

Aboard Mitscher's many carriers, ordnance crews in yellow helmets worked late that night filling the bomb racks of the Hell-divers, the torpedo bays of the Avengers and the machine-gun ammunition belts of the Hellcat fighters.

Then—at the last moment—Bull Halsey's luck ran out. The Jap force sighted his patrol planes at dawn, and turned tail. Bull was disappointed but not discouraged. He had repeatedly challenged the Japs to slug it out and he knew there were ways to force them to accept the challenge eventually.

*Plans  
for the  
next step.*

He sat down aboard his flagship with Rear Admiral "Mick" Carney, his brilliant chief of staff, and commanders of other fleet units hunched over a huge round table in Halsey's living quarters and began mapping the next step. It was then that the Second Battle of the Philippines began to move from the preliminary to the decisive stage that was to come hardly a week later.

*Why not  
invade the  
Philippines?*

The next step in the war in the Pacific had called for invasion of the Jap-held island of Yap in the Carolines. But Bull Halsey had a better idea. Why not by-pass Yap, he suggested, and take advantage of the terrific pounding which Mitscher's task force had been giving the Japs in the Philippines for the past six weeks? Why not speed up the schedule and invade the Philippines at once? The proposal was passed along to higher authority. General

Douglas MacArthur was willing and, by herculean effort, could be ready. Admiral Nimitz gave the go-ahead signal. Throughout the vast Pacific war zone there was a sudden switch to breakneck tempo.

The 7,000 islands and islets of the Philippines are a scattered handful of giant green boulders guarding the western approach to the South China Sea. The main islands are Luzon, with the capital of Manila, on the north, and Mindanao on the south, spreading over 77,720 square miles. Some 275 miles north of Luzon is Japan's Formosa island, while to the south of Mindanao lies the 700-miles-wide Celebes Sea and then Jap-held Celebes, flanked by Borneo. This was the bastion Japan must hold; a green bastion of jungles, and swamps, and rugged hills and scattered towns—except that it was not all green on the morning of October 20th. Great columns of flame and smoke spurted up from Leyte island, midway between Luzon and Mindanao, where two units of the U. S. Fleet, working with Lieutenant General George C. Kenney's Fifth Air Force, lambasted Jap defenses and hammered Jap airfields, while planes from Halsey's Third Fleet shellacked airfields in the northern Philippines. MacArthur, striking midway between the main Philippine islands, began his landing on Leyte.

*Japanese  
bastion of  
jungles and  
swamps.*

*MacArthur  
lands on  
Leyte.*

This return to the Philippines was the culmination of everything that had gone before—the Marshalls, the Gilberts, the Marianas and the other historic steppingstones—and it also made inevitable the greatest naval battle in



*Naval  
battle  
inevitable.*

our history, the battle that the enemy had been avoiding. The landings had been made. Now it was up to Nimitz's Navy to protect the ground troops from Jap naval and air attacks which everyone from the admiral down to the newest messboy in the Fleet knew would come. But where was the Jap fleet? MacArthur's ground forces stabbed inland the next day, given air support by the baby flat-tops that stayed near his transports in Leyte Gulf. Another day passed.

*Submarines  
locate  
Japanese  
fleet.*

Before dawn on Monday, October 23d, one of our submarines patrolling the South China Sea, on the other side of the Philippines, was cruising on the surface to recharge her batteries when a large group of ships was contacted. The skipper knew, from Intelligence reports, that they weren't ours. They must be Japs. Another American sub in the same area also located the warships which were moving northeast, probably from Singapore, through Palawan passage.

*"We are  
moving in  
to attack."*

A crackling radio message carried the news to Halsey's flagship. The final sentence of the message is typical of submariners: "We are moving in to attack." But that was enough to tell Bull Halsey where the Japs were making their first move on this vast, azure checkerboard. That was the beginning.

The Americans had found a submarine commander's dream come true. They moved in close and four projectiles darted straight for each of three heavy cruisers. Explosions sent them lurching through the sea.

Twelve direct hits in a single attack broke the enemy armada's precise formation. The ships swerved and dodged in confusion; milled about like stampeding cattle. Two of the big cruisers shuddered and lay dead in the water, torn and smoking and sinking. A third hobbled uncertainly away, with doubtful chances of reaching safety. But after the first confusion, the Japanese ships reassembled and again took on the appearance of an armada. Their destination was obvious: Leyte. Their purpose was just as obvious: to destroy MacArthur's transports and carriers and pin our invasion forces down without supplies or aerial protection and then to erase them at leisure.

*Twelve  
direct  
hits.*

On the afternoon of October 23d, the word began to drift through American warships from flag bridge to engine room: "The Jap fleet is coming out." That night the information crystallized, and the aviators, assembling in the air-conditioned ready rooms, saw the approaching shadow of battle as they received their instructions for the next day:

*The  
approach  
of battle.*

"Our subs have located and attacked a force of enemy ships. We think the Jap fleet has come out to fight."

The men of the Third Fleet had been in action since August, getting fuel and supplies at sea. They badly missed the occasional feel of firm ground under their feet, the change from monotonous life between the same steel bulkheads where they looked at the same faces day after day.

The airmen had matured; lines developed around their eyes and mouths as they went out on a timetable schedule to pound the enemy. The pilots had been looking forward hungrily to a rest, but Third Fleet veterans now prophesied: "If Bull Halsey sees a chance to beat hell out of the Jap Fleet and get this war over sooner, he won't give a damn about you or me or himself or anything."

*Necessary  
to anticipate  
the enemy's  
plans.*

Now Halsey had to anticipate the enemy's plans. There were two logical routes for the Japs to take. One led across the Mindanao Sea and through Surigao Strait, southeast of Leyte, and thence to our beachhead on Leyte Gulf. The other route, longer but safer for the enemy, led across the Sibuyan Sea, northwest of Leyte, through San Bernardino Strait and thence southward through the Philippine Sea, past Samar, to Leyte Gulf. The Japs might follow either route—or they might split and follow both routes and thus converge on Leyte Gulf from both north and south, pincers fashion.

*Japanese  
Southern  
Fleet  
attempts  
pincers  
movement.*

Later on October 23d, it had become evident that the Japanese Southern Fleet from Singapore, reinforced by ships from the Philippines, had split and was attempting the pincers movement. An American sub contacted the enemy near Mindoro Strait, just south of Manila, and torpedoed another heavy cruiser, which was severely damaged and driven into Manila Bay.

Now almost all of the pieces were in place on the checkerboard. There were uncertainties, of course, and

there were errors of judgment but the picture fell naturally into three parts; a three-ring naval circus. The line-up was: *Three-ring naval circus.*

Ring One, in the south: The Japanese Southern Fleet from Singapore had split in two, and the battleships *Fuso* and *Yamashiro*, accompanied by two light cruisers, two heavy cruisers and eight or ten destroyers, were cutting across the Mindanao Sea to narrow Surigao Strait, from which they intended to emerge and attack our Leyte Gulf beachhead from the south. Our Seventh Fleet under Admiral Kinkaid was disposed across the ten-miles-wide strait to meet this threat. *Ring One in the south.*

Ring Two, in the center: The remaining and larger part of the Jap's Southern Fleet was steaming northeastward through the Sibuyan Sea toward San Bernardino Strait from which they intended to attack our Leyte Gulf beachhead from the north. This enemy force included five battleships—the new, speedy *Yamato* and *Musashi*, and the older *Nagato*, the *Kongo*, and the *Haruna*—as well as seven heavy cruisers, one light cruiser and about 15 destroyers. *Ring Two in the center.*

Ring Three in the north: Halsey's Third Fleet of warships and carriers was waiting northward of the Gulf of Leyte to meet the enemy force heading for San Bernardino Strait (Ring Two) and also to engage whatever enemy fleet might be sent down from the north (Formosa or Japan) to join in the battle. Halsey felt certain the Japs would send reinforcements from the north. *Ring Three in the north.*

Halsey had disposed his available carriers—all under Mitscher's command—to provide the maximum search coverage of the Philippines area. To the north, search planes of Rear Admiral Frederick C. Sherman's carrier force ranged west of Luzon. Farther south aircraft from other carriers commanded by Rear Admirals Ralph Davison and Gerald F. "Jerry" Bogan probed the Sulu and Sibuyan seas, between Luzon and Mindanao.

*Continuous  
attack  
by enemy  
aircraft.*

The men of Mitscher's task force will remember October 24th as a day of continuous attack by enemy aircraft.

In Ring Two, Commander Dan F. Smith, Jr., of Pittsburg, Texas, commander of the Third Fleet's Air Group "X," led his dive bombers, torpedo planes and fighters into attacking position west of the big enemy force. The beleaguered men-o'-war consisted of two groups, both heading east.

An ideal attack means an assault by great numbers of torpedo planes and dive bombers, with fighter-strafting support if possible. Under ideal conditions, the first torpedoes will be launched while the confused and battered enemy turns this way and that. American airmen had long awaited the opportunity. This was their chance.

*Desperation  
of American  
attack.*

Perhaps the enemy warships sensed the desperation of the attack, for they turned toward the American aircraft at high speed, spewing clouds of antiaircraft fire as they turned. They did both with the unanimity of a well-trained chorus line. Only one ship was out of step. Trailing in the column of three battleships was the *Musashi*,

one of the Yamato-class monsters. Perhaps because of a previous hit, she wheeled north. Commander Smith spotted the *Musashi*, "big as Lookout Mountain and twice as unprotected." She seemed to be going at the slow speed of ten knots.

The dive bombers peeled off out of the sun and plummeted down in quick succession on the *Musashi*. Avenger torpedo planes skimmed low over the water, launching torpedoes port and starboard against her long, graceful beam. Two torpedoes were seen to rip into her portside and Dan Smith swears that he saw four others heading for her starboard beam.

*American  
carrier  
planes  
attack.*

When the attackers pulled up and away, the *Musashi's* bow was under water almost to the base of her bridge structure, and her stern was high in the water. She circled slowly that afternoon, great oil slicks forming a colored wake, under the anxious care of destroyers. She was not seen the next day, or subsequently, and it may well be that she sank.

*Battleship  
Musashi  
crippled.*

The antiaircraft reached a violent tempo as the American carrier-based air groups attacked that day. One torpedo-plane pilot, Lieutenant Robert Cosgrove of New Orleans, said the flak reminded him of "going into a cave." His squadron mate, Lieutenant (j.g.) Otto Blech of Pahokee, Florida, had two thirds of his left elevator shot away, while Ensign A. R. Hodges of Norfolk, Virginia, returned to his carrier with his elevator control cable shot away to one control, his hydraulic system de-

*Violent  
antiaircraft  
fire.*

stroyed, and his radioman wounded. From another carrier, an Avenger pilot fervently whispered: "I was praying when I got out of my run."

*Heavy score  
against  
the enemy.*

Mitscher's pilots piled up a heavy score against the Japs with bombs and torpedoes. Four of the enemy battle-ships were reported damaged, and practically every other ship in the force was hit. In addition, 150 Jap planes were blasted from the skies by our fighters and antiaircraft, back at Leyte Gulf. At dusk our scout planes advised Halsey that the Jap ships had reversed course and were in retreat to the northwest.

*Sherman's  
carriers  
attacked  
by bogeys.*

But while we were delivering these telling blows against the enemy on October 24th, Sherman's carriers were under attack—dangerously so. At 8:01 A.M. our fighter patrols contacted two large groups of bogeys (enemy aircraft) thirty miles astern. Admiral Mitscher glanced at a correspondent: "Better get ready to duck inside—they're dive bombers." It was murky weather, and the warships headed toward a rain squall.

Our fighters began slashing into the enemy aircraft, but the bogeys were "all over the sky from six to twenty-four thousand feet," according to the interceptors.

From several directions, the enemy attacked. Black specks, hardly visible to the naked eye, danced in and out of the clouds, then roared down on the twisting, turning American warships. Guns banged away with that peculiarly stirring symphonic effect of kettledrums and basses. The warm breath of concussion stung the men's faces,

and they smelled the stimulating odor of gunpowder, which comes in time to associate itself only with excitement and fear.

Still in formation, the ships headed into the protective cover of a rain squall. There, shrouded in soupy weather, they maneuvered patiently as the screening vessels fired periodically at bogeys lurking on the edges of the squall. *R in squall provides cover.*

Probably the enemy had dispatched, all told, well over two hundred planes from his land bases in the Philippines to cripple Sherman's carriers. Yet, strangely enough, many Japanese airmen seemed reluctant to close for the attack. Were they afraid? One large group—perhaps forty to sixty bombers, torpedo planes and fighters—would come no closer than thirty miles to our formation. *Japanese ai men reluctant to fight.* There they began to orbit as seven Hellcats, led by Commander David McCampbell of Los Angeles, plunged into their midst. As McCampbell and his cohorts watched in amazement, the bogeys headed back for Luzon.

The Hellcats took up the pursuit, in the course of which Dave McCampbell is officially credited with shooting down nine Japanese fighter planes. Not once did the enemy offer to engage in aerial combat, as the Hellcats sniped at straggling Zeros, one by one.

But the law of averages struck. At 9:38 A.M. the light carrier *Princeton*, one of several built from converted cruiser hulls, was hit. A thin wisp of smoke, seeping out of her hangar deck, became black and thick. Red flames could be seen as the *Princeton* charged indomitably *Princeton hit.*



*Small in  
size, big  
in spirit.*

through the seas. She was a proud, scrappy ship, small in size but big in spirit. More than one hundred and fifty enemy aircraft had fallen prey to her guns and air groups.

Men aboard the *Princeton* awaited developments calmly, continuing their work until they could no longer breathe in the smoke; then they made their way to the open air.

Below, Chief Commissary Steward Frederick W. Plath of McAllen, Texas, ruefully contemplated two hundred mince pies he had baked the previous night. Chief Plath sighed; just two years ago, aboard the old *Hornet*, he had baked a batch of mince pies the night before she was sunk.

Twenty minutes after the *Princeton* was hit, she called for destroyers to come alongside with fire-fighting equipment. Hardly had the call gone out when she was wrenched by a terrible explosion; the flames had reached loaded torpedo planes. Great chunks of her flight deck peeled back.

*Losing  
struggle  
to save  
carrier.*

Another explosion shook her frame at 10:05. The *Princeton* fell behind Sherman's formation. Aboard the *Princeton*, Captain John M. Hoskins, who was scheduled to take over command of the carrier, was directing the efforts to save her, but it was a losing struggle. As the skipper watched his men fighting several fires, a terrific blast rocked the carrier from stem to stern. The after ammunition magazine had gone up.

Stunned for a moment, Captain Hoskins felt a burning sensation. Looking down he saw a naked foot lying on the deck. It was his own right foot, blown off by the explosion and now hanging by a tendon to the rest of his leg. He twisted a tourniquet around his thigh and waited for help. *Captain's foot blown off.*

A ship's doctor rushed over and, unsheathing an abandon-ship knife from his belt, he started to sever the tendon. The knife's blade wasn't sharp, but finally he cut through and then bound up the stump with a gauze bandage. Captain Hoskins watched the operation calmly. "Thanks, Doctor," he said at last. "I'm lucky it wasn't my head."

The order to abandon ship was given. Other ships stood by to pick up survivors. One of these was in trouble herself. The *Birmingham*, a light cruiser, had rushed to the stricken carrier shortly after the bombs struck, and her crew were manning hoses, trying to douse the carrier's fires, when the magazine went up. That blast swept over the decks of the cruiser alongside the *Princeton* like a gigantic, flaming broom, inflicting heavy casualties on the fire fighters and gun crews topside. *Order to abandon ship.*

Despite such handicaps, most of the *Princeton's* crew were removed to other ships, the light cruiser *Reno*, the destroyers *Irwin*, *Cassin Young*, *Morrison* and *Gatling*. One of the last to leave was Captain Hoskins who was lowered over the side on a line to a rescue boat. *Survivors rescued.*

Princeton  
goes down.

An hour later, destroyers and cruisers, circling about the broken *Princeton* in the twilight of the Philippine seas, launched their torpedoes and fired their guns. Slowly, she turned over, illumined by the fires in her, and slipped below the waters.

Third  
enemy fleet  
sighted.

On the morning of the 24th, Mitscher was considering a message from a land-based patrol plane that approximately twenty-seven enemy warships, including battleships and carriers, had been sighted north of Luzon. At last enemy reinforcements were coming from the north. It was the third enemy fleet unit sighted that day and to judge from this report, the most powerful. This was what Mitscher had been waiting for.

Search  
mission.

Meanwhile action was under way in Ring One to the south. In fact, Commander Frederick E. Bakutis of Brockton, Massachusetts, may have fired the first shot in the entire struggle between the two surface fleets. Taking off from his carrier in a Hellcat fighter just after dawn, he and his close friend, Commander Emmet Riera, were leading a search mission south of Negros Island.

It was 8:30 on the morning of October 24th, and the sun was shining brightly over the Sulu Sea; in the distance rose the blue, cloud-capped peaks of Negros. They sighted the first enemy surface force about the same time, near the end of their assigned radius.

"You could damn' near tell those big battleships right away with their pagoda masts and all," says Riera.

"Someone called up and said 'There they are.' I called back, 'Okay, I see 'em.'"

As the Americans circled twelve miles away, great bursts of smoke around them told of an angry and aroused enemy. It was fourteen-inch antiaircraft fire, the first of many times that Japanese battleships were to hurl main-battery salvos against American aircraft in the next two days. The Yamashiro and Fusō class battlewagons were firing all guns.

*Angry and  
aroused  
enemy.*

At about 9:05 Commander Riera's planes attacked out of the sun. On their pull-outs, the bombers and fighters strafed the smaller warships. Riera says, "We were only carrying five-hundred-pound bombs because it was such a damned long search. It really takes a larger bomb to do any real good on a battleship."

*Larger  
bombs  
needed.*

A fire was burning briskly on the stern of the battleship *Fusō* as the bombers wheeled away to the west, but the Japs continued westward toward Surigao Strait.

As a first line of defense in Ring One, Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet was drawn up outside Surigao Strait. He had PT boats waiting on the other—the far side—of the strait. In the strait itself, he stationed a gantlet of destroyers along its 35-mile length and, at the end of the narrow slot, within sight of Leyte Gulf, Kinkaid placed his heavyweights, the Seventh Fleet's battleships and cruisers. He was crossing the Japanese "T" before the Nip fleet arrived. The ironic touch was that Kinkaid placed six battleships—"sunk" at Pearl Harbor—across

*First  
line of  
defense.*

the strait. Thus his battlewagons could fire fore and aft batteries. The Japs coming head on toward his Pearl Harbor "wrëcks," could fire only their forward guns.

*PT-boat  
attack.*

Around midnight, Ensign Dudley J. Johnson of Kerrville, Texas, on the tiny bridge of his PT 127, sighted the Jap task force. By radio he alerted the flagship, then moved in to attack with his fragile craft. Soon PTs were closing in from all directions. The Japs tried to hunt down the fleet skimmers with searchlights, but the PTs were zigzagging at better than fifty knots as they moved in. Then star shells hurled by the Jap ships lighted up the scene with the brilliance of daylight, and their big guns rained explosive shells on the torpedo boats. The PTs answered with small-caliber machine guns. Pea-shooters against cannon.

*Star  
shells.*

Driving directly into the beam of a searchlight, a PT boat commanded by Lieutenant (j.g.) Ed Wakelin of Holyoke, Massachusetts, let go with torpedoes at less than two thousand yards. Then, sighting a half dozen destroyers, Wakelin fired his remaining torpedo at one of them, while shells from the Jap ships dropped so close to his boat they splashed water down the open engine-room hatch.

*Black  
night.*

The night was black, but the PT boats got two hits, although they did not stop the Jap task force from proceeding in a double column into the narrow waters of Surigao Strait. These ships were making twenty knots when our destroyers on picket duty in the strait made

contact with them. Now came the hardest part. In spite of temptation, destroyers held their fire. Rear Admiral Jesse B. Oldendorf was waiting at the other end of the strait with his battleships and cruisers, and he wanted the Japs to get deep into the trap.

*Jap ships  
proceed  
into trap.*

The crews of Oldendorf's battleships waiting in the darkness had been at their battle stations for hours and were understandably trigger-happy.

As Oldendorf prepared, Admirals Halsey and Mitscher in Ring Two, up north, had made their decision—a hard decision, and probably the most important of the entire battle. They had decided to take the main strength of the Third Fleet north to Ring Three to meet the expected attack by the Jap carrier force coming from the Formosa area. They knew of the impending action in Surigao Strait and figured that Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet was capable of repelling it. Their last reports from the all-day action in Ring Two specified that the central Jap force had been badly crippled and had been seen at dusk retreating to the west across the Sibuyan Sea. Presumably this force was out of the picture.

*Important  
decision  
of the  
Third Fleet.*

Why not, then, concentrate striking power on the enemy carrier force to the north? Of course, this would leave the Leyte beachhead covered only by the escort carriers in the Seventh Fleet. They would be helpless against a strong surface attack, but Halsey figured they were safe because the Japs had retreated in Ring Two. He ordered several of his big carrier task groups to re-

*Japanese  
believed  
in retreat.*

*Third Fleet  
steams  
north.*

devious and steam north. Other units, refueling far to the east, could be called upon in case of emergency.

The decision was made—and it became the subject of hot controversy, but that was later, after the Navy had narrowly escaped disaster.

Meanwhile, back at Surigao Strait in Ring One, Admiral Oldendorf was ready to spring the trap. He lined up his battleships across the mouth of Leyte Gulf. They were steaming in column to “cross the T,” a maneuver every naval man dreams of executing some day.

*Ready to  
pounce.*

The enemy ships steamed into the trap. On either side of them, cruisers and destroyers were lined up in the darkness ready to pounce as soon as the battleships opened up.

At 2:49 A.M. there was only darkness and silence and the tenseness of unseen danger over Surigao Strait, a bottleneck ten miles wide and thirty-five miles long, through which the Jap southern force was passing to get at our Leyte beachhead. The moon had set, and on Oldendorf's flagship the men could not see even the men at battle stations on their own ship.

*Honor roll  
of ghost  
ships.*

You could call the honor roll of ghosts that morning in Surigao Strait. There was the *California*, now a quarter of century old, which, on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, was hit by bombs and torpedoes, and sank at her berth in Battleship Row off Ford Island.

There was the *Pennsylvania*, which, immobile in a floating drydock at Pearl Harbor, had been bombed,

but whose crew had fought off waves of Jap planes. There were the *Maryland* and the *Tennessee*, each hit by a pair of bombs, but returned to active duty several months later.

And there was the *West Virginia*. Six torpedoes and two bombs plowed into the *West Virginia* on December 7th and, a mass of flames and billowing black smoke, she had listed badly to port. Those were the ghost ships come to life and waiting for the Japs in Surigao Strait.

Oldendorf lined up five destroyers on one side and behind them he placed five cruisers, parallel to the eastern shore of the strait. On the western side of the strait, he had more cruisers, preceded by four destroyers. Then he drew a line on his chart from Desolation Point, on Dinagat Island, to the island of Cabugan Grande, and ordered his battleships to take station in column just north of that line. They closed the northern end of the gantlet.

*Line-up  
of the  
gantlet.*

And now the Jap force of two battleships, the *Fuso* and *Yamashiro*, two cruisers and four destroyers, with a second group of cruisers and destroyers four miles astern, was steaming in twin columns into the trap, into the steel gantlet. There were about fifteen Japanese ships in all, moving now at eighteen knots.

About 3 A.M., Oldendorf gave the order, "Let 'em have it. Commence firing." Destroyers raced in toward the enemy ships, swung and launched torpedoes. There was no more darkness that night in Surigao Strait. There

*"Commence  
firing."*



were blinding flashes as the torpedoes struck, and then everything happened at once.

*Blistering  
cross fire.*

The torpedo attack was a signal for cruisers on both sides of the trap to direct a blistering cross fire against the enemy ships. At first the Japs thought it was a mistake, that they were being fired upon by their own ships. Their warships flashed colored recognition lights, which was proof that they were completely surprised and bewildered, and these lights furnished an excellent point of aim for our gunners. Then the Jap ships laid down a protective smoke screen. As they did so, our destroyers—except for one which was hit—withdrawed through their own smoke screen and opened up with their five-inch batteries.

On one of the destroyers of Captain Kenmore M. McManes, a squadron commander, there was a gunner with good eyes. He saw the door of a Jap admiral's flag cabin fly open after a salvo struck one of the enemy battleships. A bright light flashed out. McManes' report on the incident concluded with: "We closed the door with our next salvo."

*Jap fire  
inaccurate.*

The Jap columns plunged up the strait, firing sporadically and, for the most part, inaccurately. Even the star shells that they sent soaring into the darkness to light up our ships were falling in front of the targets instead of behind them, as was required if they were to silhouette our ships.

Suddenly the lead ship of one Jap column, reaching a certain narrow point in the strait, reversed course. The lead ship in the other enemy column followed suit and so did the second ship in each column—at the same point. It was the opportunity of a lifetime for Oldendorf. If the Jap ships had turned simultaneously, they might have escaped the worst punishment, but they didn't. And Oldendorf crossed the T. *Crossing the "T."*

As each enemy ship came to the turning point, it presented a perfect target, at constant range (twenty thousand yards—about 11½ miles), to broadsides from the big rifles of our six battleships, deployed across the mouth of the strait under command of Rear Admiral George Weyler. It was almost too easy for the ghost ships. The first salvos smashed directly on the enemy's leading units at about four o'clock. *Almost too easy.*

The enemy kept coming doggedly up to the same point—as precisely as trained animals—to make the turn and, now slowed to twelve knots, each ship received the same punishing dose of steel. It took Weyler only fifteen minutes to do a good job. Then he gave the order for the battleships to cease firing. *Cease-fire order.*

The reason for that order, however, was partly due to the fact that one of our destroyers, the *Albert J. Grant*, had been hit and heavily damaged during her torpedo run. Now she was dead in the water and drifting down toward the enemy ships—within range of Weyler's big guns. Also, the retiring enemy vessels were getting out of

*Fleeing  
enemy  
pursued.*

easy range. But the crippled Jap ships were not to be spared further torture, for our cruisers and destroyers immediately took over from the battleships, pounding away at the fleeing enemy.

*Japanese  
losses.*

With grim satisfaction, Oldendorf stalked his cornered prey. He saw two Jap ships burning, early in the engagement; then a battleship, obviously in trouble after being heavily shelled, started to blaze. Next he watched another big ship, probably a Jap heavy cruiser, go into its death throes. There seemed to be no end to the one-sided carnage. A large enemy destroyer with its whole stern ablaze loomed up, and Oldendorf ordered his ships to finish it off. In the admiral's words, "Our ships started firing at the Jap. There was a destroyer there when they started—and suddenly there was nothing."

*American  
ship  
casualties.*

Of the estimated fifteen Jap ships that had ventured into Surigao Strait that night, not one returned to its Singapore base. At dawn, Oldendorf could see eight columns of thick black smoke rising from as many enemy ships, one of them a battleship.

"I sent planes out to get pictures of that one," he complained later, "but the damned thing sank before they could get there."

Our casualties were surprisingly light—one destroyer damaged. This was the *Grant*. The task force commander feared the destroyer was doomed and would have to be abandoned. However, Commander T. A. Nisewaner, the *Grant's* skipper, saved his ship, and the

crippled *Grant* later weathered a typhoon before getting back to a repair base.

There was considerable mopping-up to be done by our forces in Surigao. Planes knocked off the remnants of the Jap surface force, and PT-boats ranged through the waters of the strait, filled with debris and dead Japs, picking up survivors. Some of the Nips protested at being taken prisoner, but Oldendorf ordered his men to haul them out with boat hooks. *Mopping-up in Surigao.*

It was just before 4 P.M. of the previous afternoon, October 24th, when Lieutenant (j.g.) Stuart Crapser of Springfield, Massachusetts, a rangy blue-eyed Helldiver pilot, was cruising his search plane back toward his carrier after a fruitless search of the Pacific area to the north. Suddenly his gunner, Aviation Radioman J. F. Burns, of Garwood, New Jersey, gave off with his triumphant yell.

Thousands of feet below the broken clouds lay four enemy flat-tops and their escort, less than one hundred and fifty miles north of our own force! It was a two-way discovery; the enemy spotted the search plane at the same time and dispatched fighters. Frantically, the usually reticent Lieutenant Crapser radioed five messages back to Admiral Mitscher's flagship announcing his find. *Enemy flat-tops spotted.*

Meantime, another search plane, piloted by Lieutenant (j.g.) Herb Walters of Tyler, Texas, spotted—not far away—two Ise-class battleships with flight decks on their stern, and turned in his report. All told, the enemy force

*Size of  
enemy  
force.*

consisted of seventeen ships, somewhat fewer than the total reported earlier that day by a land-based patrol plane. There was one light carrier of the Shokaku class; three light carriers of the Chitose and Zuiho classes; two battleship carriers; a heavy cruiser of the Mogami class; four other cruisers; and six destroyers. The next move was up to Halsey. He sped his main force northward.

*Rising Sun  
carriers  
turn north.*

At two o'clock the next morning, October 25th (just before the battle of Surigao Strait began far to the south), a night-flying Hellcat contacted the Jap carriers seventy miles away, bearing on a collision course for Halsey's ships. Third Fleet surface vessels were ordered to prepare for a night battle, but, shortly afterward, possibly aware of the contact, the Rising Sun carriers turned north.

But their doom was sealed. Never in the history of naval warfare has such an aerial onslaught been delivered as descended upon the Japanese flat-tops that morning.

Before the take-offs, serious young Lieutenant Roger S. (Smiley) Boles of Santa Paula, California, told his fighter squadron aboard this carrier flagship: "We're so close to the Japs that the torpedo planes will have to make a couple of orbits to get enough altitude for the attack."

*American  
planes  
take off.*

As the first light of dawn came, the carriers of the task force turned eastward, pitching and rolling slightly, into the wind. The first Hellcat roared off, dipped, then soared away, clutching at the sky. Before its wheels had lifted, another Hellcat was in the launching spot. And

so the planes took off, one by one, for the attack, and another deckload of planes came up from the hangar deck in readiness for the second wave.

In Flag Plot, task force headquarters aboard his carrier, Admiral Mitscher learned that the enemy was heading in a northeasterly direction, while Mitscher's carriers and battleships were coursing due north. Mitscher put on more speed. *Enemy's course.*

To Commander David McCampbell, the Navy's leading ace with thirty-four Nips shot down, Mitscher assigned the direction of the first strike against the enemy. *First strike.*

"We took off at dawn," McCampbell said later, "and orbited (that is, circled and waited for orders) about fifty miles north of our fleet. I had with me a large force of fighters, torpedo planes and dive bombers. The ship had previously sent two scout planes ahead to locate the Jap fleet. They found it sixty miles north of us, and we were then directed to attack."

"We spotted the fleet thirty miles away. There was a great sight. What a mass of stuff down there—seventeen warships in formation! To my surprise, only a few planes came up to intercept, about twelve Oscars—carrier-based Zekes. We paid no attention to them but went in after the ships. They sent up the damnedst AA I'd ever seen, bursting all around us in every color of the rainbow. They put up phosphorous shells which exploded and fell in streamers. There was even a thing that looked like a pinwheel. The sky was full of it. *Few interceptor planes.*

*Plan of  
attack.*

"I gave the boys assignments, and they went to work. The fighters strafed the outer screen of destroyers, hoping to divert their fire so the bombers and torpedo planes could make their runs and pull out safely. It worked pretty well. The bombers from my air group went in on a carrier and laid seven 1,000-pounders right in the middle of its flight deck. That took care of her, so I sent the torpedo planes after the nearest battlewagon.

"It was nice to see that carrier roll over. Knocking out Jap planes is only incidental to us. We were trained to go after ships, and what happened that morning showed that we had been taught pretty well.

*Everything  
"by the  
book."*

"Everything went by the book. First the fighters would strafe, then the dive bombers would drop their loads, and they were immediately followed by the torpedo planes. Huge columns of smoke now came from the burning ships, and the water was full of Japs. One carrier was sinking, and you could see that other ships were really hurt. The Nip destroyers never bothered to pick up survivors, as far as I could see."

"How long were you over the target?"

*Next strike  
group  
takes over.*

"Three and a half hours," he replied. "And while I was there I saw one carrier, two cruisers and two destroyers actually sink. By this time my gas was running low and I was relieved by another strike group from our force. When I left, four other ships were dead in the water, drifting helplessly, and I knew they were dead pigeons."



AMERICAN TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT FOUR ASHORE IN THE LINGAYEN GULF AREA OF LUZON, IN THE PHILIPPINES,  
ON JANUARY 9, 1945 (*Page 313*)

FROM AN OFFICIAL U.S. COAST GUARD PHOTOGRAPH





The size of this attack can be judged from the fact that nineteen Helldivers were assigned to one enemy light carrier! One by one, the orbiting dive bombers reached the step-off point, eleven thousand feet above the doomed warship, and peeled off at two- and three-second intervals. They scored at least seven hits. Lieutenant (j.g.) George Peck—a blond, burly youngster who once played a tough game of quarterback for San Diego State College—was the fourth Helldiver to descend on the carrier. *Nineteen to one.*

“Somebody had got some hits ahead of me, because she was smoking,” said Peck. “Still, she had enough speed to turn a bit as we came down. Not that it did any good. There were just too many of us. Why, I saw two dive bombers diving side by side on the same target. My bomb went smack into her flight deck, and just as I pulled up, I saw a torpedo heading into her.” *Too few targets.*

The carrier came to a dead stop; explosion after explosion racked her frame, and she was shrouded in smoke.

One torpedo-plane pilot, Lieutenant Joseph C. Black of Knoxville, Tennessee, made his run on her, saw her condition, and simply swerved behind the carrier’s blazing fantail. He resumed his course and launched a torpedo against a near-by battleship, scoring a hit which sent up a white column a thousand feet into the air. *Battleship torpedoed.*

Two enemy light carriers were hit in that first attack; one blew up very shortly, while the other hung on grimly

above the water line until late afternoon. Several other ships in the formation were hit, some beyond escape.

*Huge flak  
holes in  
returning  
aircraft.*

Aircraft returned to American carriers with huge flak holes exposing the structural framework and their windshields covered with oil. Said one pilot: "Walk on that AA? Hell, I just put my plane on it and skidded in!"

Meanwhile one hundred miles south of this scene, Jap planes had been attacking our carrier force. Mitscher stood on the bridge of his flagship, his wizened face expressionless. Twelve Jap planes came in, and ack-ack fire from our destroyers began to dot the cloudless sky. A Jap plane careened down crazily.

"What destroyer got that one?" Mitscher barked.

"The *Sullivans*, sir," his flag lieutenant reported.

Mitscher grunted with satisfaction.

*The  
Sullivans  
fighters  
again.*

Three minutes later, the *Sullivans* (so named in honor of the five Sullivan brothers lost in the cruiser *Juneau*) brought down another torpedo plane. The *Sullivans* were fighters again this day!

Land-based planes came out from Luzon, but the naval fliers were waiting. Some twenty-one Nip planes had gone hurtling into the sea. Mitscher's fleet escaped almost unscathed. One Jap plane flew into a flurry of flak directly above a carrier and crashed on the deck, killing the ten men of the gun crew which had shot it down. They were ten Negro messboys who had volunteered to man the 20-millimeter guns. They had saved their ship.

*Negro  
messboys  
man gun.*

By noon, Halsey had the satisfaction of knowing that his fleet had sunk seven warships: four carriers, two cruisers and a destroyer. Two battleships had been badly damaged and were crawling away, while three stricken cruisers and four destroyers looked for rain squalls to hide in. *Third Fleet battle score.*

Here was a glorious chance for Halsey to wade in now with his carriers and fast battleships to wipe out the fleeing, damaged Jap ships. But, strangely, at this hour, a large part of his carrier force was steaming south at high speed. At one moment we had been on the brink of victory; the next moment we appeared to be retreating. What had happened? *Brink of victory.*

The answer had already been given with startling effect aboard Mitscher's flagship. Mitscher's Flag Plot was crowded with officers listening to reports from the scenes of action. The communications officer brought in a dispatch and handed it to the admiral. Adjusting his horn-rimmed glasses, Mitscher read it silently then handed it to Thirty-one Knot Burke, his chief of staff, saying quietly, "What do you think of this?"

Burke read the dispatch. It was a plain-language message from Rear Admiral Sprague, in command of our comparatively helpless escort carriers which were supporting MacArthur's beachhead on Leyte Island, far to the south. Sprague hadn't even taken time to have it encoded because he was in a hell of a hurry. He said, *Hurried message received.*

*"Urgently  
request  
support."*

in effect: "Am being engaged by enemy battleships. Urgently request support."

A look of grave concern crossed Burke's face as he replied: "I think it's bad, sir."

The *Kitkun Bay* was one of six CVEs (escort carriers) about twenty-five miles east of Samar Island under command of Rear Admiral C. A. F. Sprague. Seven miles farther south was another group of CVEs under Rear Admiral Thomas L. Sprague, over-all commander of the escort carriers, and a third group, bossed by Rear Admiral Felix B. Stump, was spotted thirty miles to the southeast. Planes from all three groups were giving air cover to the Leyte beachhead.

It was the ending of a black, unfriendly night. Frequent, brief rain squalls cut down the visibility of the officers and men standing watch on the bridge. But before the sun rose, Hellcat fighters and Avenger torpedo planes roared up the flight deck and over the bow ramp on the daily "milk run" to bomb and strafe Jap positions on Leyte. Then, without warning, it happened!

At 6:50 A.M. a lookout on the *Kitkun Bay* sighted the foretops of big ships on the northern horizon. None of our ships was in that area. There was only one answer: They must be Japs. Captain John Perry Whitney grabbed his binoculars and verified the lookout's report. Immediately he sounded a second call to general quarters and the public-address system echoed: "Stand by to repel enemy surface ship attack."

*Call to  
general  
quarters.*

Below decks in the wardroom where a group of "airdales" (pilots) not scheduled to fly that morning were finishing their coffee, a flier ran in and shouted, "The whole damned Jap fleet is out there—battleships, cruisers—everything!" As the coffee sippers ran toward the flight deck, a second announcement came over the P. A. system: "Pilots, man your planes!"

What had happened was that the enemy central force, which had tried to reach San Bernardino Strait the previous day but had been seen turning back after an all-day attack by carrier planes, had again reversed course under cover of darkness and had slipped through the strait during the night in a strike toward the Leyte beachhead. *Japanese reversed course at night.*

At this moment the Leyte beachhead was stripped of all naval protection other than the CVEs and their screen. The heavy Jap force was approaching at high speed, and the baby flat-tops had virtually no protection against their big guns. They had no real armor, and their escort screen was pitifully small and weak—three destroyers and four destroyer escorts. None of these mounted a gun heavier than five inches, and this was puny firepower against the 16- and 14-inch rifles of the enemy battleships. The CVEs called urgently for help but they could expect no immediate aid from ships in our Third Fleet, which was far to the north engaging the Japs' northern force, or from our Seventh Fleet which had just turned back the enemy southern force in Surigao Strait. *CVEs and escort no match for enemy battleships.*

*Catapult  
launchings.*

Up on the bridge, Captain Whitney, his face shaded by a long-peaked baseball cap, watched the first Avenger move into launching position on the catapult. Beside him stood Rear Admiral Ralph A. Ofstie, commander of this jeep carrier division. The wind was from the northwest, which meant the ships had to head in that direction to "scramble" their planes. It also meant they were closing in rapidly toward the attacking Jap force.

*Short range  
for Jap  
battleships.*

Five minutes after the enemy ships were sighted, and while the *Kitkun Bay* was still launching planes, large shells began splashing into the water near her and the other jeep carriers in the northernmost group. These shells came from four Jap battleships in the van, which were followed by seven heavy cruisers and nine destroyers. The range was less than fourteen miles—duck soup for the enemy battleships. Everybody aboard the *Kitkun Bay* knew they were in for it then.

A young seaman, manning a telephone on the bridge, turned to the officer of the deck: "We're not out here alone, are we, sir?"

The officer nodded grimly.

*Destroyers  
and DEs  
do not  
falter.*

But, no, they weren't entirely alone. There were the three destroyers and four DEs forming the screen. These little guys didn't falter an instant. Forming in column, they laid down a smoke screen. Then the seven, destroyers and DEs, charged through this curtain and made torpedo runs on the enemy—like a handful of Chihua-

huas attacking a bunch of mastiffs. Miraculously, all came back through the smoke screen—alive.

Salvos were straddling the *Kitkun Bay* and they were coming even closer to the *Gambier Bay* just ahead of her. These finished scrambling their planes and turned south, away from the Japs, at flank speed—around twenty knots. Sometimes the wind blew gaps in the smoke screen, exposing the jeep carriers, and from the 16-inch guns of the lead Jap battleship came angry orange flashes and, seconds later, geysers of foamy water rose around the CVEs.

*Geysers  
of foamy  
water.*

"They're firing on the *White Plains*," someone shouted, and just off the port bow, Captain Whitney saw her steaming through a line of geysers. The *Gambier Bay* also was drawing a concentration of fire. Considering the range, the Japs wasted untold amounts of ammunition before scoring hits.

The Jap commanders now detached two heavy cruisers from their force and sent them south at high speed on the escort carriers' port hand. As soon as the enemy cruisers—easily able to outrun our ships—were in position, their main batteries subjected the CVEs to heavy fire.

The *Gambier Bay* was the first victim. At ten minutes after eight, a 16-inch shell holed her below the water line. Water flooded one of her engine rooms. This cut the *Gambier Bay's* speed down to ten knots, and she dropped behind, an easy target for the Japs. The two heavy cruisers ignored her and continued pounding the

*Gambier  
Bay  
first victim*



other carriers, but the Jap battleships astern scored more hits on the cripple.

From the bridge of his own CVE, Captain Whitney looked back and wondered if Captain Walter Vieweg could bring the *Gambier Bay* through. He doubted it, for the ship was drifting at right angles to her normal course, moving toward the Jap force. Thus she presented a perfect broadside target, and the Japs sent two other heavy cruisers from their main body to finish her off.

*Destroyer  
versus  
cruiser.*

Then out of a rain squall came one of our screen destroyers. The skipper saw a heavy Jap cruiser of the Tone class concentrating fire on the *Gambier Bay* and gave the command to open fire with the five-inch guns in his main battery. He was deliberately taking on a heavy cruiser, mounting eight-inch guns—practically double the destroyer's firepower—but after they had slugged it out for twenty minutes, the Jap cruiser caught fire and turned away.

*Jap ships  
turn away.*

The destroyer suffered a direct hit by an eight-inch shell, which flooded her forward compartments, and she was so far down by the head her anchors were awash. She was pulling away at reduced speed when three other Jap cruisers appeared and opened fire. It looked like the end for the destroyer, but, after a short attack, the Jap ships inexplicably turned away.

The *Gambier Bay* was rocked by successive explosions. At 8:50 A.M. Captain Vieweg gave the order to abandon ship, and her crew started sliding down long lines to

rafts. Many wounded were helped from the dying carrier by their shipmates, who, at nine o'clock, saw the *Gambier Bay* take her final plunge.

As she went down, the other CVEs were trying to escape the Jap attack. The two detached enemy cruisers circled their prey, firing salvo after salvo at the thin sides of the *Kitkun Bay*, the *White Plains*, the *St. Lô* and the others steaming south with them. Rear Admiral Sprague used every tactic in the book to dodge the Jap shells. *Salvo after salvo.*

"We made frequent changes of course," he said later, "to throw them off in their gunnery problem. Each ship captain 'chased' the splashes from the enemy salvos. It was miraculous that we emerged as we did. When the range between the two forces was reduced enough to bring the Jap ships within reach of our escort carriers' five-inch guns, we opened up and got hits." *"Chasing" the splashes.*

At about eight-thirty the seven destroyers and DEs had been ordered to make a second torpedo attack on the Japs. They plowed back through the smoke screen at thirty-five knots. Four Jap cruisers, followed by four battleships, rushed toward the American ships at about twenty-five knots. Frequent rain squalls made visibility spotty as the two forces charged along on a collision course. *Collision course.*

When they were within range, the destroyers fired their torpedoes. The Jap battleships turned out of column, then formed another column and drove straight

for the destroyers, showering 14-inch shells on them. Two of our destroyers were heavily hit. The Americans made a hard left turn and swung sharply right to place the Japs on their beam so they could close to short range and fire broadsides. The rain came down hard—and so did the Jap shells.

*Rain and  
Jap shells.*

The American five-inchers had little effect on the thick armor of the Jap battlewagons and, after a brief clash, the destroyers and DEs fired their remaining torpedoes. One struck a battleship only 4,000 yards away and exploded under her Number Four turret. The Jap ship ceased firing and, shortly after, the entire column changed course and withdrew to the north.

Now the carrier crews watched anxiously as our ships came back through the smoke screen. First came a destroyer to rejoin the escort carriers. Three of the DEs followed. That was all. Only these four of the seven small ships which had gone in on that attack came out alive. Two destroyers and a destroyer escort had been sunk. But their torpedo runs had diverted much of the enemy's firepower from its original targets.

*Only four  
small ships  
survive.*

The five surviving baby flat-tops, however, were battling against heavy odds, and their doom seemed to be only a matter of time. Two Jap heavy cruisers circled this force at high speed, like Indians in a war dance. Again and again the Jap shells found their mark. Several hits rocked Admiral Sprague's flagship, the *Fanshaw Bay*. Others smashed into the *Kalinin Bay*. A near miss

*Like  
Indians  
in a war  
dance.*

lifted the stern of the *White Plains* out of the water while she was still launching planes, but there was no great damage and she continued launching.

Then, at last, came the first response to the calls for *Help comes.* Up from the south roared planes launched by sister carriers, who were in a refueling area. Fighters and torpedo planes swooped down over the attacking enemy ships and got hits on several. Diving through thick bursts of ack-ack, the fighters desperately strafed the enemy decks hoping to knock out the crews manning the AA guns and clear the way for the torpedo planes to strike again.

Encouraged, the menaced carriers redoubled their fight to survive. More planes from the carriers under *Fight to survive.* attack joined the air battle. Some of these had been on anti-submarine patrol when the Jap ships first appeared. Others were recalled from their regular mission of giving air cover to our troops on Leyte, and these pilots added a note of raw courage to the day's record. They had expended most of their ammunition on Jap positions ashore but they made daredevil "dry runs" (simulated *"Dry runs."* attacks) on the enemy ships now. Some concentrated on the two Jap cruisers circling our carriers. Sweeping low, they penetrated the flak-studded air to simulate a real bombing and strafing attack. Time and again they returned to the "attack" without a single bomb or round of ammunition.

These dry runs caused the Jap ships to change course frequently and threw off their gunners' aim, and that's exactly what our pilots intended.

*Torpedo  
attack  
without  
fighter  
protection.*

They weren't all dry runs that morning, though. Four young Avenger pilots from the *Kitkun Bay*, rookies in their squadron, made a torpedo attack without fighter-plane protection. Ensigns Marchant, Kummerlin, King and Fulton found a Jap battleship and, led by Marchant, they damaged it badly.

"Nice work, son!" Admiral Ofstie said to Marchant when he had returned aboard.

Hits were also scored on a Jap cruiser by bombs which started a series of explosions. Another Jap cruiser was attacked by four torpedo planes and left dead in the water.

*Unexpected  
enemy  
withdrawal.*

The battle was at its height when, at 9:25 A.M. word was passed on the *Kitkun Bay* that the enemy cruisers were withdrawing.

It didn't seem possible that the Jap cruisers would pull out when they had definitely trapped the surviving five carriers and probably could have sunk every one of them in a short time. Yet there they were, reversing course and heading back toward San Bernardino Strait.

Over on the crippled destroyer, her skipper couldn't understand it, either.

"I'll never know why they're leaving instead of going right on into Leyte Gulf," he said. "They have the ships and the power to do it."

The Jap cruisers were not the only ships retreating. One by one, their battleships turned and laid a course for the strait, accompanied by the other cruisers and destroyers. Aboard the baby flat-tops, an unnatural silence settled down. Nobody could understand what had happened. Then the tension broke, and men laughed until they cried. By some incredible miracle they were still alive. The fight had lasted two and a half hours, but, during it, some of them seemed to have aged twenty years.

*Men laugh  
and cry.*

After the Japs had ceased firing, and the *Kitkun Bay* and other carriers in her group had landed their planes, the general alarm sounded, followed by: "Stand by to repel air attack!"

Eight Jap dive bombers came in at an altitude of five thousand feet and peeled off for an attack. Three of them were shot down before they could drop their loads. Each of the five remaining enemy bombers picked a carrier as its target and roared down.

*Enemy  
bombers  
return to  
the attack.*

The *Kitkun Bay* and the *Kalinin Bay* were the victims of direct hits, but neither was seriously damaged. The *St. Lô* was not so fortunate. One bomb hit, and there was a big explosion.

*St. Lô  
is hit.*

On the hangar deck, men had been rearming and servicing two Wildcat fighters and three Avenger torpedo bombers. In all, eight planes were down there and at least six of them had 100-octane in their tanks. Four torpedoes were ready for plane installation, while four more torpedoes were in the same area with no less than

six depth bombs, fifteen 500-pound bombs and forty 100-pounders. In boxes were 1,400 rounds of .50-caliber machine-gun bullets. There was enough explosive on the premises to level a fair-sized town.

*Time  
measured by  
explosions.*

From then until the ship sank—just thirty-two minutes after the bomb hit—men measured time by explosions. Whatever happened to them they remembered as happening just before or after the second explosion, or the third, or the fifth, and so forth. A plane blew up on the port side. That was the second explosion, mild compared with its successors, and more like a puff than a blast which, nonetheless, knocked men down and rolled them along the deck. A hose party was seen to crumble, and some of its members never got up.

It was the third explosion that blew another hangar door off its hinges and sent a 100-foot section of the flight deck sailing into the air. That was on the port side. A section of about the same size on the starboard side was folded and rolled back like a hall carpet. Entire fire parties were wiped out, burned or killed outright or blown overboard. The word was passed: "Prepare to abandon ship."

*Crew in  
water  
bombarded.*

About a quarter of the *St. Lô* had blown into the water, sides and all. She was ripping apart in 50- and 100-foot chunks, and some of the pieces were flung 1,000 feet into the air. Involuntarily, she was bombarding the crew in the water. Her end was near.

Captain McKenna left the ship after the seventh explosion. Everyone knew he would be the last man alive to leave. He always performed the way you wanted the skipper to perform—with the composure of a man who is never surprised, even when he is scared as hell. *Skipper last man to leave.*

The eighth explosion blasted out parts of the *St. Lô* below the water line. Before this explosion she had been listing to port. Now she rolled over to starboard very fast and went down with her bow pointing straight at the sky. As night fell, destroyers and destroyer escorts were still picking up survivors. One destroyer retrieved 453 of the crew and Captain McKenna. *Survivors of the St. Lô.*

With the sinking of the *St. Lô*, we had lost two escort carriers, but the other four in Tommy Sprague's group were still intact. Two destroyers, the *Johnston* and the *Hoel*, had sacrificed themselves in defending the CVEs, and so had the little DE, *Samuel B. Roberts*. All considered, it was a small price to pay for saving the bulk of the escort-carrier force and the transports and supply ships in Leyte Gulf.

By early afternoon the tide of battle had turned definitely in our favor. Planes from the three escort-carrier groups were countering successfully the attacks staged by the Japs' land-based planes. And finally, help was coming from carriers in Mitscher's task force. Some of these big flat-tops, which had been refueling far to the east of Luzon, had been dispatched at full speed. Shortly *Tide of battle turns.*



after 2 P.M. these planes started making strikes on the fleeing enemy ships. They kept the enemy in retreat.

*Enemy  
keep  
retreating.*

What had been happening up in that northern area while the escort carriers were under attack was encouraging. The Jap carrier force split up. One group, composed of damaged and sinking ships, was dead in the water with one Ise-class battleship and a few smaller vessels circling them. The other group, including one battleship, one light carrier, one large Shokaku-class carrier and a few other undamaged ships, was retreating to the north.

At 10:07 A.M. Halsey messaged the carriers: "Instruct all pilots to strike at undamaged ships. Leave cripples until later."

*Armor-  
piercing  
bombs.*

The second and subsequent waves of aircraft, therefore, swept down on the ships fleeing northward. Blond, slender Lieutenant Al Seckel of Chicago was one of several Hellcat fighters who stabbed at the Shokaku-class flat-top with armor-piercing bombs.

Seckel reported that the *Shokaku* (or she may have been a sister ship, the *Zuikaku*) twisted this way and that, at first seeming to ignore the torpedoes and bombs raining into her hull. Then she stopped dead in the water and large columns of smoke poured from her vitals. Yet two hours passed before she rolled over and sank, belly up and stern first. The other flat-top, too, clung doggedly to life—for five hours after the first hit had been recorded on her.

Said Commander Winters: "Then I turned away for a moment and, when I looked again, there was nothing but a huge oil slick and the tip of her stern going under. Hundreds of guys were swimming around or clinging to pieces of wood until a destroyer came up and began taking them aboard."

Those survivor-packed Jap destroyers, and the two Ise-class battleships received their share of trouble in the fourth and final aerial attack that day. One destroyer was sunk, and the others were strafed and bombed, while one of the battleships sustained torpedo and bomb hits.

As the afternoon sun approached the western horizon, only one Jap carrier remained afloat. United States cruisers and destroyers ranged ahead of our carriers. *Only one Jap carrier afloat.* Coming across the gutted carrier just before dusk, they sank it. To the north, the two crippled battleships, two cruisers and several destroyers were making their escape. One destroyer was left behind and it, too, was sunk by surface gunfire. Later that night of October 25th, eager American submarines attacked the escaping ships with a spread of torpedoes, sinking a heavy cruiser.

The Second Battle of the Philippines was now over. *Battle is over.* Our ships were picking up hundreds of survivors from the water—Japs and our own men. Despite the heavy punishment the *St. Lô* had taken, 784 of her crew were rescued, half of them wounded. Of the entire ship's company 114 were listed as dead or missing.

*Men on  
rafts fight  
off sharks.*

Captain Vieweg and more than 750 of his men from the Gambier Bay also were rescued after they had drifted on rafts for forty-two hours, fighting off sharks.

The Jap casualties were, of course, much greater. They lost thousands of men, and dozens of their ships had been sunk or damaged. Jap shipyards and drydocks would be busy for months repairing the damage.

*Great  
naval  
victory.*

Secretary of the Navy Forrestal summed up the results as "One of the great naval victories of the war that will go down, along with the Midway and Guadalcanal sea battles, as one of the great, shattering blows struck against Japanese seapower." The Japanese fleet was indeed beaten, routed and broken.

The battle also provided a tasty morsel for naval experts, authentic and armchair, to chew over for years to come. Had Admiral Halsey made the right decision in taking his Third Fleet north to engage the Jap carrier force, thus leaving Leyte beachhead and the escort carriers covering it vulnerable to an enemy surface-ship attack?

*Opportunity  
missed by  
Japanese.*

The answer probably can never be given, even by the Japanese high naval command which missed a grand opportunity to mess up our invasion of the Philippines. But one part of that answer is definite and convincing: we won.

# MILITARY SURGERY

(A.D. 1944)

KYLE CRICHTON

THROUGH the glass in the closed door of the operating room, the surgeon could be seen working on a patient. With a knife he began to carve three sides of an oblong on the man's forehead. The incision was deep and when the skin was drawn back the skull could be seen. One end of the oblong piece was still attached to the forehead; the length of loose skin was now turned and laid carefully over the eye of the patient. The most meticulous care was then taken in sewing this flap into place. That done, the patient was wrapped with a turbanlike mass of bandage and adhesive tape and wheeled out of the operating room.

*Surgeon  
at work.*

The surgeon was Lieutenant Colonel James Barrett Brown, chief of plastic surgery at Valley Forge General Hospital at Phoenixville, Pa. What the man on the operating table had gained was a new eyelid. This meant that the eye was protected and another veteran of the war had been saved for active life. Hundreds of men

*New  
eyelid  
gained.*

From the article "New Faith," *Collier's*, *The National Weekly*,  
by permission of the author and publisher.

*Remarkable  
record of  
plastic  
surgery.*

have already been helped by Colonel Brown and his staff, and thousands of others will have that good fortune later. The greatest comfort our wounded can have is the knowledge that the greatest plastic surgeons in the world are available to help them. Seventy per cent of the plastic-surgery cases treated at Valley Forge have been returned to active service—a remarkable record.

Valley Forge General Hospital sits on a hill in the beautiful rolling country of eastern Pennsylvania. Valley Forge itself, the site of the tragic winter encampment of Washington and his ragged troops in the Revolutionary War, is about five miles distant. Convalescent veterans of the present war play croquet between buildings or stroll about the green quadrangles, preparing themselves for the return home or duty that will soon come.

In the popular view, plastic surgery has often centered on beautifying some individual who desires a prettier nose. At Valley Forge it is a matter of a man's future life. Success may mean the difference between desperation and a life that may be short of perfection but will be satisfying.

When a man is given a new jaw, he will not complain if it leaves his face scarred.

"We try to restore function first," says Colonel Brown. "A man must have an open nose so he can breathe; he must have a jaw so he can eat; he must have eyelids as a protection for his eyes, and the movement of his hands must be restored. Besides function, one of the greatest

*Function  
is restored  
first.*

challenges is to take a man with a totally burned face who would be a horror to himself and his family and make him into a man with hope for the future.”

*Hope for  
the future  
given.*

The best way of showing what is being done at Valley Forge is to report on a recent visit to the hospital. The first operation was made on a man whose forearm had been half shot away from the elbow to the wrist. He was a thin, energetic man of middle age who had been shot up at Cassino. When being examined by Colonel Brown he seemed to have a sort of pride in the intricacies of his case. By the greatest of luck his hand was intact and he had control of the thumb and two fingers. That made the arm worth saving.

*Arm  
worth  
saving.*

When he reached the operating room, Colonel Brown proceeded with one of the most astonishing operations in the history of plastic surgery. First, all scar tissue was removed from the arm. Then Colonel Brown made a deep incision on the man's chest in the pattern of a square U. The skin was then carefully cut back until there was a free flap approximately a foot square, with the bottom portion still attached to the abdominal wall. The incision had been deep, so that with the skin would come a layer of fat, very necessary in the growing that would soon take place.

The patient's arm was then laid on his chest, the flap was brought up to cover the portion missing from the forearm, and the attachment was made. The arm will lie in that posture until the skin flap grows firmly to it.

That will take between two and three weeks, and, at the end of that time, the portion still attached to the abdominal wall will be severed and sewed to the arm. The patient will then possess a new covering for the arm, made from his own body. If it is necessary to build up the arm further by inserting new bone, that can be done later. It will be easily possible because he will now have a foundation to contain the new insertions.

"So far as I know," said Colonel Brown, "that is the largest flap ever made in plastic surgery."

While this was going on, Captain Bradford Cannon of Boston, at another operating table, was building up a nose that had been shattered in action, and Captain Carl Lischer of St. Louis and Lieutenant Parke Scarborough were performing a complicated skin-grafting job on a badly burned leg.

From a picture of the nose patient taken when he first entered the hospital, it would seem to a layman impossible to help him. The nose was entirely shattered, being pushed to one side of the face and clinging to its normal position only by a bit of skin. This soldier was a firmly set-up young man from Wisconsin who had been banged up at Anzio. Captain Cannon was furnishing him with a new nose by building up the ridge from cartilage taken from the man's ribs and by grafting skin from his body to make a new lining for the nose.

This is a tedious operation that takes hours of work by the surgeon, but it is one of the commonest under-

*New covering for shattered arm.*

*Nose reconstructed.*

taken. Another that furnishes dozens of cases for the surgeons is skin grafting for burns. This often takes months, and the question of finding enough skin on the body to do the job is often extremely difficult.

*Skin  
grafting  
for burns.*

In most instances it is necessary to use one area over again repeatedly. The surgeons make what are known as "split" grafts, meaning that the skin is shaved off one section of the body (known as the "donor" area) and grafted on to the affected region (known as the "recipient" area). This is done in the simplest way imaginable by slicing the skin off with an instrument that looks like a razor. The skin is really split, with the top layer coming off like a fine bit of shavings and the fat not being touched. The operation is so delicate that the donor area heals rapidly and with little indication that it has given skin. The split grafts can be obtained over and over again from that spot if necessary.

Then we came to the most spectacular case of all. A young fellow of about twenty was brought into Colonel Brown's office. He had his hair clipped in crew fashion, very close to the head, and was one of the most recent casualties from France. When Colonel Brown asked him how he felt, he shook his head and seemed to answer with his eyes. When his bandages were taken off it was seen that his whole lower jaw had been shot away. His tongue, swollen to three times normal size, lay almost on his chest. His mouth could hold no food and naturally he was unable to speak. It was a shocking thing, and

*Most  
spectacular  
case.*



*Seemingly  
hopeless  
fate.*

when the boy left, we remarked on the hopelessness of his fate.

"Wait till you see this one," said the colonel, and a tall, thin young fellow came in with his lower face swathed in bandages. The colonel removed the bandages with care and it could be seen that the man had received at least two operations that had restored his jaw. "Exactly the same kind of injury," said the colonel, "and even a bit worse. How do you feel, son?"

"Fine," said the young man, with only a trace of difficulty.

"That's why that first fellow doesn't feel so bad," said the colonel. "He's been visiting with Tom here."

*New jaw,  
new  
lower face.*

Tom had a new jaw and a new lower face. His ribs had been used for the jaw, and his face had been taken from his chest in another use of the flap technique. For a time, he will have severe scars on his lower face, but he now speaks naturally and, of course, eats and drinks normally.

Another remarkable patient was a man who had been shot through the mouth by a bullet that had followed an upward course. This had happened at Salerno to a member of the famous Thirty-sixth Division, the Texas outfit that first terrorized all of Cape Cod while training at Camp Edwards and then did an even better job on the Italians and Germans in Italy. The man was a big citizen of the jolly type and he was even better disposed now that he was fixed up. The bullet had blown away

half of his palate, and he couldn't eat or speak. Colonel Brown had fashioned a new palate for him, giving him an entirely new lining for his mouth and restored him completely. *New palate made.*

Nothing could have seemed more desperate than the condition of a big fellow from Illinois who had been shot up in Italy almost to the vanishing point. It is impossible to tell how he looked because in the dressing room where he was being treated, his eyes were still covered with a bandage. He had lost both ears, his nose, one eye, the covering of both cheeks and half of both hands. When we saw him, he had both his ears rebuilt, four new eyelids, a new nose, and work was being started on his hands. It is with the hand cases that Colonel Brown puts in his hardest work. *Hardest work on hand cases.*

"It's the hands that distinguish a human being from an animal," he says. "In animals, even the monkey, the thumb lies alongside the fingers. With a human, the thumb is capable of facing the fingers, giving the hand grasping power. This is naturally the position of function of the fingers, and we do everything possible to restore that function to man, no matter how hopeless it seems originally."

The hand cases are delicate operations, and there are dozens of them at Valley Forge who will now have the use of their hands even if it be only the thumb and one finger. *Delicate operations.*

*Wartime  
plastic  
surgery  
exhausting.*

A face smashed in by an automobile accident is quite different from one shattered by a bullet. It is this difference that makes the war work of the plastic surgeons so exhausting.

Colonel Brown explains it in this way: "In both cases, the face may be literally broken to pieces and completely detached from the skull, but with a bullet, there is actually an explosion inside the face. It is as if a firecracker had gone off inside the antrum. It kills much more bone, tears up much more tissue and leaves much more scar tissue than any external injury can produce."

*Facial  
paralysis  
repaired.*

One of the most striking examples in the hospital was the repair of a facial paralysis in an enlisted man. This man's face had been twisted fantastically out of shape. The photographs taken when he entered the hospital were of a monstrosity. By building up some portions of his face and lowering others, he finally had a countenance that showed no sign of the defect. Long strips of fascia (the connective inner tissues) were taken out of his thigh, tunneled through the face and attached to a muscle that was not paralyzed. The result was miraculous, and anyone talking with the man now would refuse to believe what the first photographs showed. He is now at work in the wards as an example to others who may despair at their condition.

*Despair  
turns  
to hope.*

In truth they are often in despair when they arrive. Some come kicking with rage and caring little what happens to them. In two or three days, there is invariably

a change. It is one of the most encouraging things in the world to see the morale of the men undergoing treatment at Valley Forge. The patients who come in to see Colonel Brown are obviously in no very great awe of him.

*High  
morale  
at Valley  
Forge.*

"Let's have a look at that eye, son," he says. "H'mm, pretty good. Now, when do you want us to work on that nose? How about next Wednesday? Maybe you might go home over the week end to see the folks. How'd you like that? Oh, you would! Well, be back here Tuesday so we can look at you before the operation."

In the wards there are so many convalescent patients eager to help out with the other men that the staff has to confine them to working in relays.

*Conva-  
lescent  
patients  
eager to  
help out.*

"Just like home folks around here," says the colonel.

He looks very much like home folks and has a good Middle Western accent that might come from a country doctor riding up in a horse and buggy. He is a product of Hannibal, Mo., and attributes his interest in medicine to the late Doctor E. H. Bounds of that place, a surgeon whose reputation went far beyond Hannibal itself. His academic and medical training was taken at Washington University at St. Louis, and he was on the surgical service of Professor Evarts Graham when work on the victims of an Illinois tornado turned his interest to plastic surgery. He is associated with Doctor Vilray P. Blair, Doctor Louis T. Byars and Doctor Frank McDowell of St. Louis and enjoys an international reputation.

Colonel Brown's office at Valley Forge is a small room with a plain desk and four straight chairs. He keeps his own records, writing them out at night in longhand.

"I can remember them better that way," he says. "This is the most personal business in the world. It's just the doctor and the patient, and every patient is different."

*Most  
personal  
business  
in world.*

Colonel Brown works till nine or ten every night and often till midnight. The plastic-surgery staff does between ten and fifteen operations every day, usually finishing around two or two-thirty P.M. The colonel spends hours at night analyzing the cases of the patients who are to be operated on next day.

*Photo-  
graphic  
record kept.*

In all instances, a photographic record is kept of stages in the patient's progress and, in addition, there is a laboratory for making plaster masks under the direction of Sergeant Frank Eliscu, formerly a sculptor of New York. The masks are taken directly from the patients and used by Colonel Brown as a directive in his surgery.

Plastic surgery is the hardest of work, because every patient requires the most intensive application of effort in the operating room. There are many operations of two and three hours, and some may be longer. This is often necessary in nose injuries, where it is impossible to leave off until the obstruction or defect is corrected.

*Hundreds  
returned  
to jobs.*

The visitor to Valley Forge comes away with a feeling of great hope for the wounded. They may not be Adonises but hundreds of them will be returned to their jobs in civil life, who couldn't have dared to hope in

other days. The first World War saw the development of plastic surgery. From this experience, great strides were made in the following years. Techniques were perfected. Cases that seemed impossible of treatment were tackled and conquered, and a great mass of information was built up from civilian observation. And thus the debt to the first World War veterans has now been paid to the present wounded. They have the benefit of twenty-five years of study and experience, and the personal assistance of surgeons who are world-famous.

*Development  
of plastic  
surgery.*

The high morale of the men under Colonel Brown and his staff is a testimonial to their personal qualities and to the service given by the Army.

We return to the man who was first seen in the operating room, having his arm reconstructed. In Colonel Brown's office the night before the operation, he was having doubts.

"You know, Colonel," he was saying in the straightforward and easy way that Brown's men have with him, "sometimes I think it might be better if I had it off."

"Well now, son," said the colonel gently, "it's your arm. You can do what you want with it, but I think we can save it."

"Well, if you say it, Colonel, that's the way I want it," said the man, getting up and smiling with relief.

*Doubt  
becomes  
relief.*

Late next afternoon after the operation he was lying in his bed in the ward, looking contented with the world.

"How's that old arm?" asked the nurse playfully.

"Pretty good  
old arm."

"That's a pretty good old arm," laughed the man proudly, "and nobody ain't gointa get it away from me, either."

V-2 rocket  
bombs  
London.

Germans  
open  
counter-  
offensive.

[October 28, 1944. Bulgaria signs armistice with United Nations. November 1. British commandos invade Netherlands island of Walcheren. November 4. British troops and Greek patriots free Greece of German forces. November 7. President Roosevelt is elected to a fourth term by 432 electoral votes to Governor Dewey's 99. November 8. Berlin announces bombardment of London with V-2, new long-range rocket. November 12. *Tirpitz*, last German battleship, is sunk by British earthquake bombs. November 24. Tokyo is blasted by B-29 Superfortresses from Saipan Island. December 3. Civil War flares in Greece between ELAS and EDES. British forces intervene. December 10. Japanese base of Ormoc on Leyte Island is captured by United States forces. December 15. General MacArthur lands troops on Mindoro Island. December 17. Germany starts powerful counter-offensive on western front. December 26. Organized Japanese resistance on Leyte Island is ended. December 28. German counter-offensive is halted on western front. December 30. Archbishop Damaskinos is appointed regent of Greece by King George II. January 1, 1945. France formally joins the United Nations. January 5. Strife in Athens ends as ELAS forces leave the city. January 8. Field Marshal von Rundstedt's divisions in

the Belgian bulge begin to give way. January 9. American troops land on Luzon establishing four beachheads. *Invasion of Luzon.* January 14. German armies in the Belgian salient reel back toward the Siegfried Line in full retreat. January 17. Russian and Polish troops capture devastated Warsaw. January 21. Red army troops invade Silesia. Hungary surrenders unconditionally to the Allies and declares war on Germany. New Ledo-Burma Road is opened as a supply route to China upon capture of Wanting. January 26. Americans overrun Clark Field in drive to Manila. January 29. American troops break back into Germany from the Ardennes bulge. February 3. United States First Cavalry Division enters Manila and frees 3,000 British and American internees of Santo Tomas Concentration Camp. February 4-11. Marshal Stalin, President Roosevelt, and Prime Minister Churchill confer at Yalta in the Crimea. *Yalta Conference.* February 13. Budapest is liberated by the Russians after a 50-day siege. February 16. American forces land at Corregidor. February 19. United States Marines pour ashore on volcanic Iwo Jima, only 750 miles from Tokyo. February 23. Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima falls into American hands. Turkey declares war on Germany and Japan. February 25. American forces win Dueren. March 1. Organized resistance ends on Corregidor. March 3. Finland declares war on Germany. March 6. Cologne capitulates to American forces. March 10. The siege of Danzig begins. March 16. The conquest of Iwo Jima is complete.]




1875

# A LETTER FROM IWO JIMA

(A.D. 1945)

EDGAR L. JONES

UR empty transport vessel with its deckload of beaten-up landing craft is rolling heavily on the long voyage home from Iwo Jima. To provide quarters for casualties, the sick bay has been expanded until half the bunks, built in tiers of four, are now occupied by the wounded remnants of the Fourth Marines who rode the ship into battle. *Expanded sick bay.*

The doctors aboard this particular ship are specialists in eye surgery and mental cases, so that in bed after bed one passes men who have lost their eyesight or their sanity. The same small boats which headed valiantly for the beach on D Day returned again and again on succeeding days with litter-loads of pain-crazed bodies; not really men, just bodies, which were salted down as the heavy seas broke over the bows of the lurching landing craft, jarred into sickening consciousness as the waves hurled the boats against the high walls of the transport, and finally lifted, two stretchers to a crane-load, onto the *Pain-crazed bodies.*

From "To the Finish," a letter to Mr. Weeks, Editor, *Atlantic Monthly*, by permission of the author and publisher.

flat, steady decks of the ship which was to take them home.

Some of the more fortunate ones died during the night, and in the morning the bodies, so tightly wrapped in gray blankets that they seemed Pygmy size, were lined up on deck, waiting for the same small boats to take them ashore for burial. Among the less fortunate are one man who is faceless from the end of his nose to his hair-line, and another whose right side is paralyzed, whose left arm is gone, and whose one remaining eye stares out of a pulpy mass of flesh. The doctors, who with such skill and untiring attention have kept these bodies alive, come into the wardroom, remove their rubber gloves and face masks, and sit over their coffee in brooding silence.

The brig contains the only Japanese prisoners, nine of them, to be captured prior to our departure on D plus ten. There were two others, but they died aboard ship, and two of the remaining are unconscious most of the time. The same small boats which took the first waves of Marines ashore, and brought the endless waves of wounded back again, also transported to the safety of the ship's brig those of the enemy who still had a breath of life.

In many ways the crews of those small boats were the heroes of the battle of Iwo Jima, because, tough as the Japanese were, the heavy seas were tougher. The prevailing winds reversed themselves during the first ten days, so that instead of being on the leeward side of the

*Dead  
lined up  
on deck.*

*Japanese  
prisoners.*

*Small-boat  
crews were  
heroes.*

island, the beachhead was exposed to the sullen fury of the Pacific Ocean. Because Iwo Jima is a volcano rising straight out of the sea, there is no shallow water. The box-shaped landing craft were tossed about like egg crates caught on the crest of a spring flood. Unprotected by breakwaters or coral reefs, the boats were swamped by six-foot breakers as soon as their bows rammed into the volcanic sand. The boats floundered, sank, and were spewn along the shore to form twisted barricades of debris. *Fury of the Pacific.*

Despite their losses, the boat crews continued to shuttle men and materials. The men rarely slept, and depended for food upon having someone aboard a transport pass down K rations and an occasional sandwich. The crew of one small boat from this ship, manned like so many others by Coast Guard personnel, went four days and nights without relief. The men could barely walk when they finally came aboard to sleep. *Four days and nights without relief.*

The waves hit the beach at an angle, swinging the boats sidewise and overturning them before the ramps could be let down. The Marine beach parties and Seabees had to resort to bulldozers and stern lines to keep the craft at right angles to the shore long enough to roll the matériel onto the sand. While a bulldozer with a tow chain kept the ramp anchored in the sand, a small tug with a stout line on the stern strained against the current to prevent the landing craft from being swept broadside against the shoreline. As the men rushed to *Bulldozers and stern lines.*

unload vehicles, ammunition, and food, the breakers swarmed over the sterns of the landing craft, swamping some and leaving the rest half filled with water. The crews were never dry.

*Boat crews  
never dry.*

As if the seas were not enough to contend with, the Japanese had the entire beach under mortar and shell fire, so that the men never knew when a shell would explode in their midst. Our transport was lying close offshore, enabling the correspondents to go onto the beach each morning and return at night to such luxuries as a hot shower, warm meals, and a dry bed. Even when we reached the beach on the morning of the seventh day, a flurry of mortar shells hit the landing craft to our left and right. We were free to scramble through the deep sand to the nearest hole, but the crew of the boat was left to manhandle the cargo with no more protection than a steel helmet.

*Mortar  
and  
shell fire.*

Each of the half-dozen beaches had a beachmaster who stood on high ground with a microphone and directed unloading operations. A powerful battery of loud-speakers carried his commands to landing craft waiting to come in, to bulldozer crews, and to Marine working parties. Though shells burst around him, the beachmaster stood his ground and with a caustic voice of assurance kept the traffic moving with invectives interlarded with: "You there in boat number 457, whatja got 'board? All right, ride in on the next breaker. Hey, you cat drivers, get the hell down here with your tails in the water. Clear

*Beachmaster  
directs  
operations.*

that truck out of there. You Marines start moving or we'll bury you under. Drop the hawser! *Drop the hawser!* Swing her starboard." And so on.

Working with the beachmasters were the floating traffic cops, the men in control boats who remained a few hundred yards offshore and regulated the successive waves of landing craft. Beyond them were the destroyers, blasting away with their five-inch guns whenever the Marines struck an enemy strong point; and still farther out, riding at anchor, were the transports, tankers, LCT's, cargo vessels, and floating drydocks. On the horizon one could see the small, fast ships in the anti-submarine patrol, and somewhere out of sight were the aircraft carriers which sent forth fighters and fighter bombers whenever enemy tanks or pillboxes were discovered. The larger units of the fleet, the battleships and cruisers, stood by, after having finished their three-day bombardment prior to the invasion, and fired their heavy guns only when a specific target required a salvo of eight- or sixteen-inch shells for permanent liquidation.

*Floating  
traffic  
cops.*

*Units of  
the fleet  
support  
landings.*

Two years ago, and possibly even one year ago, American forces would have lost the battle of Iwo Jima. The island was more heavily fortified than any previous one captured. The knee-deep volcanic sand stopped all vehicles in their tracks, and the heavy seas littered the two-mile beach with the shredded remains of boats, tanks, half-tracks, amphibious trucks, and jeeps. Yet the bulldozers were brought ashore to open lanes through the

*Knee-deep  
volcanic  
sands.*

deep sand. Steel tracks were laid to enable tanks and trucks to reach more solid terrain; cranes were set up along the beach; heavy artillery was hauled ashore, along with steam rollers, road-graders, and prime movers. The entire operation followed a tested pattern which neither the Japs nor the weather could stop.

*Another  
Tarawa,  
only worse.*

The war correspondents found Iwo Jima a poor spot for startling news. Iwo was another Tarawa, only worse. For caves and hidden pillboxes, it was another Saipan, only worse. For poor weather and soggy terrain, it was another Guam, only worse. There was little new to write about; only an old story with stronger superlatives.

Those reporters who got ashore early were unable to get their copy back to the ships. The prearranged schedule for press boats broke down when heavy swells swamped the boats. Those who remained aboard transports knew less of what was going on than did the correspondents who stayed safely on Guam and read the latest communiqués issued by Admiral Nimitz. Most of us felt that even if our copy reached civilization, it would fall flat. Iwo was a dirty, painful, horrible struggle with none of the glamour which makes good reading.

*Pattern  
of assault  
followed.*

American tacticians had learned much between Tarawa and Iwo Jima about island-to-island fighting, but so had the Japanese. The landing followed a pattern which in three years has become a tradition: a long period of bombing from the air, a shorter flurry of concentrated naval gunfire, a final assault at close range

which utilized every type of weapon that floats or flies, and then the Marines landed. The Japanese knew what to expect, and had planned accordingly. The bombings they could not stop, so they went underground where the bombs could not reach them. The rocky cliffs of Iwo were so soft that a man with a pick and shovel could dig himself a comfortable cave in a day. *Japanese went underground.*

For sixty-eight consecutive days the Army bombed Iwo. The Japanese lost all their planes and most of their surface installations, but they and their guns survived. On the sixty-ninth day, at dawn, the American Navy began its bombardment; the Japanese remained in hiding during the three days that the Navy poured a record tonnage of explosives on the island. They could not stop the Fleet any more than they could the Army bombers, so they did not try. *Record bombardment.*

Their defense was based on not giving away their positions or revealing their strength until an actual landing was attempted. They had only a handful of coastal batteries; and the only time I saw one of them in action, it hit a ship. The Japanese policy was not to fire unless they were sure they could not miss. They allowed endless waves of carrier planes to make their bombing runs unmolested, but they practically threw the island at observation planes which served as the eyes of the Fleet.

Their defense plan was a simple one; they dug their guns into the high ground in such a way that they had the beaches in a cross fire. Because they did not intend *Enemy defense plan.*



*Reinforced  
caves.*

to fire back at the Fleet, it was unnecessary to have their guns facing the sea. The advantages of such a plan are obvious. They could mount their guns in reinforced caves which had only small openings facing inland. The Fleet could have circled the island for weeks and still not have been able to bring direct fire to bear on the entrances of the caves. The guns dug into Mount Suri-bachi pointed to the north, while those in the cliffs overlooking the northern end of the beach faced to the south. The Fleet was firing from the east and west.

*Japanese  
gun mounts  
concealed.*

Had the Navy known the exact location of the caves, they might have had some success in firing over Suri-bachi into the cliffs on the northern part of the island, and vice versa; the Japanese, however, shrewdly avoided revealing their positions. Had the Japanese elected to return the Fleet's fire, they would have had to have their gun mounts exposed so that they could traverse the barrels at least forty-five degrees to the left or right. Instead they pulled their guns back under cover until only the muzzles were exposed. This meant that the fire from any one gun could cover only a small segment of the beach, but by coördinating the fire from all guns, they had the beach completely covered, and the beach was all they were interested in.

I go into this at length to counteract any notion that the Fleet did not give adequate support to the landing parties. For three days prior to D Day I was on a light cruiser. No fleet ever moved in closer and unloaded so

many high explosives on so small a stretch of land. For two of those three days a heavy mist obscured the island, so that even the observation planes hovering overhead could not tell with certainty where the shells were landing or how much damage they were doing. The Japanese camouflaged the entrances of their caves. Once the camouflage was torn away, succeeding salvos found their mark. In other places, however, the caves had armor-plated doors as protection, and luck was as essential as accuracy in knocking them out. The entire faces of hills tumbled down, but it was still anyone's guess whether the right caves had been sealed off in the process.

*Luck  
as well as  
accuracy  
needed.*

In walking around Iwo later, I saw cement block-houses which the Navy had pulverized into pieces so small that I could have picked up and carried away what was left as a souvenir. The face of Suribachi had been pushed back fifteen feet. Remains of some Japanese showed the effect of eight- and sixteen-inch shells exploding at close range, and there were others dead without a scratch on them. Their heads were grotesquely misshapen by concussion, however, just as though someone had taken a ball of putty and squeezed it. When the Navy had a definite target to aim at, it left no doubt of its firepower.

*Effects of  
the Navy's  
firepower.*

Whether Iwo will have any lasting military significance is something which men out here argue about. In the midst of mobile warfare, Iwo nearly proved that a stationary defense was invulnerable, but there were too

*Battle  
for Iwo  
inevitable.*

many flukes working against the invaders to make any generalization possible. Probably the most significant thing about the battle for Iwo was its inevitableness. No American operation was less secret. Everyone in the Pacific, including the Japanese, knew that the island had to be taken, knew approximately when it would be taken, and how it would be taken. This does not imply faulty security. It simply means that Iwo was next on the list of steppingstones to Tokyo, and there was only one way to capture it.

*Task force  
between  
Iwo and  
Japan.*

The island could not be knocked out from the air or sea. It had to be stormed when the typhoon season had passed, and when the prevailing winds were such that the eastern beaches were on the leeward side of the island. The master stroke of American strategy was having a task force at large between Iwo and Japan. This left the Japanese on Iwo without air or naval support.

*Evaluation  
of opposing  
tactics.*

The Japanese, under the command of an artillery officer, fought a smarter battle with better weapons than in any previous engagement. With an abrupt change of tactics, they fought with the skill of the German Army. Yet 20,000 Japanese did not stop 40,000 Marines from landing in small boats from the open sea. Any evaluation of opposing tactics must, I suppose, be based on which side won, unless future historians prove that the Japanese made the United States pay more for Iwo than the island was worth.

There never should be another Iwo; that is, there never should be an occasion again in the Pacific when American forces are confined to fighting without benefit of heavy tanks, fast-moving artillery, and the other components of large-scale mobile operations. Iwo was the last time that the odds were in favor of the Japanese. Usually they line their beaches with pillboxes and fight a showdown battle on the shores of their islands. On Iwo, they left the actual beach comparatively undefended. They had a few pillboxes scattered between the shore and the first airfield, a quarter of a mile inland, but not nearly the number they had at Tarawa. Instead of fighting it out with the Marines at close hand, the Japanese sat back on their high ground and poured shells on the Marines, who were prepared to fight with rifles, machine guns, and grenades.

The first time I went onto the beach was D Day plus four. I went in with a large group of Fourth Division Marines. The beach was another Anzio. The Japanese were lobbing shells into supply dumps, ammunition depots, communication centers, and every other place where they saw men or machinery concentrated. No man on the beach felt secure. The Americans held about one square mile of low ground at that point, most of which I toured. Everywhere men were struggling: to keep landing craft from submerging, to dig roads in the deep sand, to push mired trucks onto solid ground, to haul equipment to sheltered locations, and to fight nature

*Never  
another  
Iwo.*

*Odds in  
favor of  
Japanese.*

*Beach  
another  
Anzio.*

for the chance to get on with the battle. And all the time the Japanese shells whined down and tore into sand and flesh with indiscriminate fury.

*Sand  
absorbed  
shrapnel.*

*Absence  
of dead  
Japanese.*

Trying as the volcanic sand of Iwo proved to be, it was also a blessing. The Japanese shells buried themselves, and the sand absorbed most of the shrapnel. Usually a man was killed instantly by having a shell land beside him in the foxhole, or he escaped without injury. This did not hold true when a shell landed in a boat, or when one dropped in the midst of a beach party. What impressed me most, however, was the absence of dead Japanese. Some had been buried, of course, and others had died underground, but it was unnatural to find so few bodies after so much fighting. There were American bodies—more than 3,000 of them buried or not yet buried—but where were the Japanese? Everyone I questioned simply pointed to the hills on the left and right and swore fervently.

On the top of his underground command post, rather like a woodchuck sunning himself close to the entrance of a hole, Major General Clifton B. Cates was sitting quietly when I came by. As Command Officer of the Fourth Marines, General Cates was a busy and worried man, but just at that point he seemed to be the only man in the American sector with nothing to do and with a desire to make conversation. Through binoculars he could see everything that was going on; his orders had

been given, his troops knew what they had to do. He was "sweating it out."

I talked with General Cates for nearly thirty minutes. The loss of his men was a personal loss. It hurt him deeply. But he was cheered because the sun was out. All the day before it had rained, and rained hard. His men had been downcast, wet, tired, and many of them sick. The sun had boosted morale, which is the secret weapon of the Marines. The General talked a lot about the new Japanese tactics. He spoke of how much he and the other officers had learned on Iwo, and how they would have to change their own tactics. Variations in bombing and shelling techniques would make the next operation easier.

*Morale  
secret  
weapon  
of Marines.*

The General passed me his binoculars so that I could see two of his tanks burning on a hill. He issued a command to a subordinate and continued to talk about battles to come. Never did he doubt that Iwo would be won, or that he would lose many personal friends in the process; but always in his voice there was a strong note of confidence that there would never be another Iwo. As at Tarawa nearly a year and a half before, American forces had learned much.

One thing was apparent at Iwo: the Japanese had heavy weapons in large quantities. They possessed innumerable five-inch dual-purpose guns, equally good against planes or troops. The Japanese reserved their fire until the Marines were within their sights. They had

*Japanese  
heavy  
weapons.*

*Large  
enemy  
mortars.*

a bountiful collection of mortars, many of them larger than anything in use by the Allies. A mortar, actually, is only a reinforced stovepipe with a base plate and standard attached. Its value lies in the fact that it can be moved at will and can be fired as rapidly as a man can drop shells down the barrel. The Japanese were using some mortars which were as large as seven- or eight-inch guns. They were too large to be either mobile or rapid-firing, but from positions on high ground, they were deadly.

*Rockets  
and  
robombs.*

Also unleashed for the first time at Iwo were large Japanese rockets and five-foot robombs. A forward observer one day was astonished to see doors swing open in a cave; in less time than he took to tell it, two Japanese wheeled out an eight-inch rocket-launcher, fired two projectiles, and disappeared into the cave, closing the doors behind them. The rocket fire was inaccurate, but with so many Marines crowded into a small area, accuracy was not essential. Yet here the robombs, dubbed "flying ashcans," were of little value, since most of them landed in the ocean. One robomb traveled the length of the island and cleared the top of Suribachi, the highest point on Iwo.

*Horrifying  
carnage.*

No one who was at Iwo can analyze the battle objectively. The carnage was so horrifying that the blood and agony of the struggle saturated one's mind, dismally coloring all thought. Iwo was unlike any war I had ever seen. It was a fight to the finish, with no man asking for quarter until he was dead. Of the nearly 20,000 Ameri-

can casualties, approximately two thirds were wounded, but all except a few score of the 20,000 Japanese died where they fell. There is such a thing as dying decently, but not on Iwo. I do not believe anything practical can be achieved by describing men blown apart. Veterans of two and three years of war in the Pacific were sickened. An estimated 26,000 men died in eight square miles of fighting. There were 5000 dead and wounded American and Japanese soldiers for every square mile.

*No dying  
decently  
on Iwo.*

I returned to Iwo on D Day plus six, seven, and eight. By that time the Marines had captured territory where Japanese had lain dead in the hot sun for more than a week. I crawled into pillboxes burned out by flame-throwers, and into deep caves where the Japanese had been burning their own dead to conceal the extent of their losses. I was torturing myself to look at the results of war, because I think it is essential for civilians occasionally to hold their noses and see what is going on.

*Japanese  
dead.*

Somehow the sight and smell of the Japanese dead were bearable; mostly I think, because a dead Japanese does not look quite human. The yellow skin darkens and the bodies seem unusually small and characterless, like figures in a wax museum. One cannot look at them and be unmoved, but they lack the personal quality which grips the soul of an observer.

The sight on Iwo which I could not force myself to see again was the section of the beach allotted for an American cemetery. The chaplains were endeavoring to

*American  
cemetery.*



identify each body and hold a brief, individual service for each man to be buried in the black sands of the barren island. Naturally the chaplains and the burial parties were far behind in their work. The dead were brought in faster than they could be buried.

*Half-acre  
of dead  
Marines.*

On the afternoon I walked by, there was half an acre of dead Marines stretched out so close together that they blanketed the beach for two hundred yards. The stench was overpowering. There, in mangled lots, not laid in neat rows, was part of the price paid for Iwo. All I could think of as I hurried by was the old priest who died in Dostoevski's *The Brothers Karamazov* and shocked his followers by decomposing before the burial service. The smell of one's countrymen rotting in the sun is a lasting impression.

*"They died  
the hard  
way."*

Perhaps one becomes accustomed to it. To me it was an experience which made it impossible for me to return to Iwo. Undoubtedly I shirked my duty, but I never could have been an impartial observer after that. I still have not attempted an article on Iwo. While that smell remains in my consciousness, I cannot evaluate the battle for Iwo objectively. The Marines fought with courage and determination seemingly beyond human capabilities. They died the hard way.

[March 17, 1945. Coblenz falls to the Allies. March 20. British and Indian troops take Mandalay in Burma. March 23. Lieut. General Patton's troops storm across



UNITED STATES MARINES CROUCH IN THE VOLCANIC SANDS OF IWO JIMA EARLY IN THE INVASION OF THIS VITAL  
STEPPING STONE TO JAPAN, FEBRUARY 19, 1945 (Pages 315-330)

FROM AN OFFICIAL U.S. MARINE CORPS PHOTOGRAPH

10

Rhine. March 29. Frankfort is cleared of German troops. March 30. Russians take Danzig. April 1. United States forces invade Okinawa, key island of the Ryukyu chain *Okinawa* and stepping-stone to Tokyo. April 5. Russia denounces *invaded.* her neutrality pact with Japan. April 8. United States fliers sink *Yamato*, Japan's largest warship. April 12. President Roosevelt dies suddenly at Warm Springs, Georgia. Vice-President Harry S. Truman takes oath as 32nd President of the United States.]



## FAREWELL TO F. D. R.

(A.D. 1945)

I. F. STONE

MR. ROOSEVELT'S body was brought back to Washington today for the last time. The crowds began to gather early in Lafayette Park opposite the White House, as they did all along the line of the procession from Union Station. I got down to the park early and stood with many others waiting. Some small boys climbed into a tree for a better view. The gray tip of the Washington Monument showed above the White House. The trees were in full green; tulips bloomed on the lawn. Outside on the sidewalk there were soldiers in helmets every few feet, and we could hear the harsh tones of command as the guard of honor lined up on the White House lawn. Florists' trucks pulled up at the door, and huge wreaths were taken inside. Cameras were set up on the front porch, and camera men were perched on high ladders on the sidewalks and among us in the park. Birds sang, but the crowd was quiet.

*Crowds  
gather.*

*Guard  
of honor.*

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*People  
from all  
walks of  
life are  
present.*

In the park I recognized a group of girls from the C.I.O. offices in nearby Jackson Place, Walter Lippmann, and an Army and Navy Club bellboy with a sensitive Negro face. There were soldiers and sailors, Waves and Wacs. There were many Negroes, some of them quite obviously housemaids. There were well-dressed women and men in shirt sleeves. I noticed a small middle-aged priest, several grave and owlish Chinese, many service men with their wives or sweethearts, a tired man in overalls and blue-denim work cap. A tall gangling Negro boy in jitterbug jacket and pork-pie hat towered above the crowd in front of me. A man who seemed to be a hobo, unshaven and dirty, jarred the silence with a loud laugh at something a child behind him had said. There were close-mouthed New England faces, Jewish faces, Midwestern faces; workers and business men and housewives, all curiously alike in their patience and in the dumb stolidity that is often sorrow's aspect.

*Sorrow's  
aspect.*

*Procession  
approaches.*

A truck sped by on Pennsylvania Avenue. On the roof of the truck two navy men operated a movie camera, taking pictures of the crowd. Far above us, twenty-four Flying Fortresses roared across the skies in proud formation. One remembered the President's 50,000-plane speech, and choked. Motorcycle police heralded the procession's approach. The marching men, the solemn bands, the armored cars, the regiment of Negro soldiers, the uniformed women's detachments, the trucks filled with soldiers, and the black limousines carrying officials

and the President's family went by slowly. They seemed part of an unreal pageant by comparison with the one glimpse of what we had come to see—the coffin covered with a flag. Many faces in the crowd puckered as it went past. In that one quick look thousands of us said our goodbys to a great and good man, and to an era.

*Coffin  
covered  
with flag.*

I was at the *PM* office in New York Thursday when it happened. There was a commotion in the newsroom. A copy-boy ran out of the wire-room with a piece of United Press copy in his hand. That first flash, "The President died this afternoon," seemed incredible; like something in a nightmare, far down under the horror was the comfortable feeling that you would wake to find it was all a dream. The Romans must have felt this way when word came that Caesar Augustus was dead. Later, when work was done, I went to a meeting of liberals in an apartment on Washington Square. It was a gloomy gathering, much too gloomy to honor so buoyant a spirit as Mr. Roosevelt's. Some felt that with his passing the Big Three would split up, that hope of a new world organization was dim. One of those present reported, apropos, that an automobile-company official in Detroit had told a delegation of visiting French newspapermen, "Next we fight the Soviet Union." Some thought the Nazis would be encouraged to hold out, that the war had been lengthened by the President's passing. Everyone seemed to feel that trouble, serious trouble, lay ahead.

*Roosevelt's  
death a  
nightmare.*

*Fear of  
trouble  
ahead.*



I don't want to sound like Pollyanna, but I can remember so many crepe-hanging sessions of this kind since 1932. The Roosevelt era, for folk who scare easily, was a series of scares. Just before he took office, when the bonus marchers were driven out of Washington, revolution seemed to be around the corner. There was the banking crisis. The NRA was suspected of being the beginning of fascism; one of my friends in New York cautiously erased his name from the volumes of Marx and Lenin he owned; he felt the men with the bludgeons might be in his apartment any day. The Supreme Court knocked one piece of reform legislation after another on the head, and Mr. Roosevelt, when he set out to fight back, showed a deplorable disrespect for the constitutional amenities. There were the Chicago massacre and the Little Steel strike. There was Hitler. France fell when our armed forces were in good shape for a war with Nicaragua. The Japs sank most of the fleet at Pearl Harbor. It was a lush era for Cassandras.

Somehow we pulled through before, and somehow we'll pull through again. In part it was luck. In part it was Mr. Roosevelt's leadership. In part it was the quality of the country and its people. I don't know about the rest of the four freedoms, but one thing Mr. Roosevelt gave the United States in one crisis after another, and that was freedom from fear. Perhaps his most important contribution was the example, the superlative example, of his personal courage. Perhaps some of us will feel less

*The  
Roosevelt  
era.*

*Roosevelt's  
leadership.*

*Personal  
courage.*

gloomy if we remember it. Perhaps some of us will be more effective politically if we also learn from Mr. Roosevelt's robust realism, his ability to keep his eye on the main issue and not worry too much about the minor details.

*Robust  
realism.*

I found the mood of the intellectuals and New Dealers in Washington this week-end quite different from that in New York. There has been much swapping of information and sidelights, and there is a good deal of confidence in the new President. No one, least of all Mr. Truman, an impressively modest man, expects him fully to fill Mr. Roosevelt's shoes. But the general feeling among those who know Mr. Truman is that he will surprise the skeptical. I can only record my own impression for whatever it is worth. I talked with Mr. Truman several years ago and liked him immediately and instinctively. The Presidency is a terrific job, and it remains to be seen how he will stand up under its pressure. But he is a good man, an honest man, a devoted man. Our country could be far more poorly served. Mr. Truman is a hard worker, decisive, a good executive. He works well with people. He is at once humble about his own knowledge and capacities, as a wise man should be, and quietly confident about his ability to learn and to rise to the occasion.

*Confidence  
in the new  
President.*

*Truman's  
character  
and ability.*

I hate to confess it, but I think Mr. Roosevelt was astute and farsighted in picking Mr. Truman rather than Mr. Wallace as his successor. At this particular moment in

*Good-will  
of all  
Democrats.*

our history, Mr. Truman can do a better job. Mr. Wallace's accession might have split the country wide open, not because of Mr. Wallace but because of the feeling against him on the right. Mr. Truman has the good-will of both sides and is in a position to capitalize on the sobering influence of Mr. Roosevelt's passing. The heaviest task of the President lies in the field of foreign relations, and the biggest obstacle to its accomplishment is in the Senate. It is fortunate that Mr. Truman's greatest and most obvious political assets are his relations with the Senate. He is a friendly person, and was well liked on both sides of the aisle. Isolationists like Wheeler and La Follette are among his friends, and he may be able to exert an influence with them that circumstances and the momentum of past events denied to Mr. Roosevelt. The chances of a two-thirds' vote in the Senate for the new peace organization are improved by the shift in the Presidency. I say this with no disrespect to our great departed leader.

*Friendly  
relations  
with the  
Senate.*

*Close to  
progressives  
and  
New  
Dealers.*

I think Mr. Truman will carry on Mr. Roosevelt's work. He had been very effective in support of Mr. Roosevelt in the Senate. I can authoritatively report that the famous B<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub> resolution originated in Mr. Truman's office. Three of the sponsors, Senators Ball, Burton, and Hatch, were members of the Truman committee. Mr. Truman's closest personal friends in the Senate were Kilgore of West Virginia and Wallgren of Washington, both sturdy progressives and good New Dealers. There

will be changes in the Cabinet, perhaps some for the better. On domestic policy Mr. Truman's record is an excellent one, and labor has nothing to fear from him. The shock of Mr. Roosevelt's death has created an atmosphere in which the new President may be able to unite the nation more closely than ever and carry it forward to that stable peace Mr. Roosevelt so deeply desired.

*Labor has  
nothing  
to fear.*

[April 13, 1945. Vienna falls to Russian forces. April 17. United States drive on Berlin halts as General Eisenhower's forces concentrate on reducing pockets behind the battle line. April 19. Americans launch offensive in southern Okinawa. April 20. Nuremburg falls to the Allies. April 21. Russians enter Berlin. Allied Fifth and Eighth Armies win Bologna. April 25. Delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization convene at San Francisco. April 28. Benito Mussolini is executed by Italian partisans. April 29. Allied troops seize Milan and Venice. April 30. Munich is captured by Allies. May 1. Death of Hitler is announced. May 2. Berlin falls to the Russians. Germans in Italy surrender unconditionally to the United Nations. May 8. V-E Day is celebrated as unconditional surrender of Germany is announced.]

*San  
Francisco  
Conference.*



## VICTORY IN EUROPE

(A.D. 1945)

A PEACE that passeth all understanding came to the world this week. It was anticlimactic, it was premature, it was confusing, it was the greatest news snafu of all time—but it was wonderful. On the 2,075th day of the biggest, costliest war in history, some 25,000,000 men ceased fighting. The hardest peace ever to fall on a nation in modern times was meted out to Germany by the 48 countries that had declared war on the Reich. Ahead lay the difficult problems of the peace and the hard struggle to bring to an end the other half of the global war, the war against Japan. But for a few days at least a great burden was lifted from much of mankind.

*Costliest  
war ends.*

Tuesday, May 8, was the official V-E Day in the United States. At 9 A.M. President Harry S. Truman broadcast a short speech to the nation reminding all that the “fighting job” would not be done until “the last Japanese division has surrendered unconditionally.” Then the President read his proclamation announcing that “the Allied armies, through sacrifice and devotion and

*Official  
V-E Day*

Reprinted by permission of *Newsweek*.

*Unconditional  
surrender.*

with God's help, have won from Germany a final and unconditional surrender."

A few minutes after the President spoke, Prime Minister Churchill announced that hostilities would officially end throughout Europe at 12:01 A.M. Wednesday, May 9 British time (fighting actually ceased at 11:01 P.M. Central European Time). He proclaimed both May 8 and 9 as Britain's official V-E Days and ended with a rousing: "Advance Britannia! Long live the cause of freedom! God save the King!"

*General  
rejoicing.*

That was the official news for which the world had been waiting for nearly two weeks. Throughout the United States, in London, Paris, Moscow, and dozens of other capitals bells pealed, crowds shouted—or prayed—and in general rejoiced. But the official celebration was an anticlimax nearly everywhere except in Russia. In one of the greatest scoops in journalistic history, the Associated Press broke the news of the German capitulation 24 hours before the official release. The Germans themselves had earlier announced their surrender in a broadcast by Count Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk.

*Victory  
proclamation is  
delayed.*

The capitulation was actually signed at 2:41 A.M. Monday at General of the Army Eisenhower's headquarters at Rheims in northern France. Both Churchill and President Truman stood ready to read their victory proclamations. But somehow it turned out to be hard for them to get in touch with Stalin to arrange a coordinated announcement, and impossible to arrange it for Monday.

One story was that Stalin wanted to talk to the Soviet representative who signed the surrender before he committed himself. The result was the wild but officially premature celebration in New York, London, and Paris. Only the Russians had no victory hangover on Tuesday. They didn't know of the surrender until Stalin was ready to announce it. *Premature celebrations.*

An entire nation died at Rheims on Monday morning. For days the end had been obvious to all and it was equally obvious that the task of Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz, who succeeded Hitler as Führer, was to surrender what remained of the German armed forces.

Then finally, as in 1918, the Germans came to the Allies and asked for terms—any terms. However, it was not so simple as 1918, when the German representatives were escorted across the desert of no man's land and taken to the famous Wagon Lits restaurant car in the Compiègne Forest, where for almost two hours Marshal Ferdinand Foch loudly and slowly read out the terms of surrender. And it was in terrible contrast to the scene that took place in the same railway car in 1940 when a jubilant Hitler dictated a harsh peace to the French. *Not so simple as 1918.*

This time Grand Admiral Doenitz from his headquarters—presumably located in Norway—contacted Allied Supreme Headquarters. He then sent Gen. Admiral Hans Georg von Friedeburg, the sad-faced, lachrymose officer who negotiated the surrender of the Germans in the north to Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery. *The Allies are contacted.*



Friedeburg arrived at Eisenhower's headquarters at Rheims on Saturday. After the negotiations began it turned out that Friedeburg didn't have the power to offer unconditional surrender. On Sunday Doenitz sent a man who did—a tall, ramrod-stiff Prussian, Col. Gen. Gustav Jodl, new Chief of Staff of the Germany Army.

*Germans  
agree  
to terms.*

Jodl pleaded and argued through Sunday night—to no avail. Early Monday morning the Germans gave in and agreed to the terms set by the Allies. Correspondents were summoned to the 30- by 30-foot, map-lined personal war room of General Eisenhower. Lights blazed fiercely and throughout the ceremony photographers scrambled madly about. Across a rickety wooden table Jodl and Friedeburg faced the Allied representatives—Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, looking weary after 33 hours of negotiating; Gen. François Sevez, the breathless French Assistant Staff Chief; and Gen. Ivan Susloparoff, the Russian representative, accompanied by a translator with a bald head and a baleful eye which he fixed on the Germans.

*Signing  
of capitulation  
at Rheims.*

At exactly 2:41 the signing of the four copies of the documents—one each for Britain, the United States, Russia and France—was completed. Jodl asked permission to speak. He rose from the black-topped table. Every muscle in his pock-marked face was taut with emotion. In half-choked voice, he said: "With this signature, the German people and armed forces are for better or worse delivered into the victors' hands. In this war, which has

lasted more than five years, both have achieved and suffered more than perhaps any other people in the world."

Later on Tuesday the surrender was formalized between the Germans and Russians directly in Berlin with Marshal Gregory Zhukoff, commander of the First White Russian Army, signing for the Soviets and Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht, signing for the Germans.

*Surrender  
in Berlin.*

The Reich had dropped to the lowest estate ever reached by a modern nation. Grand Admiral Doenitz himself broadcast the requiem: "Soldiers of the German Wehrmacht . . . are starting out on the bitter road to captivity . . . The foundations on which the German Reich was erected have collapsed . . . The [Nazi] party has left the scene of its activities. With the occupation of Germany, power has been transferred to the powers of occupation."

*Bitter  
road to  
captivity.*

The pattern taken by events leading up to the German capitulation was as anticlimactic as the surrender itself and as wrapped in mystery as the rest of the negotiations. In the first place, Heinrich Himmler, the Gestapo chief, apparently dropped out of the picture. His name was last mentioned when Count Folke Bernadotte, the Swedish go-between, arrived in Stockholm without any reply to the three-power demand that Himmler surrender to the United States, Britain, and Russia together and not to the United States and Britain alone, as Himmler had proposed.

*Himmler's  
proposal.*

*Surrender  
qualified.*

Thereupon Admiral Doenitz took over—and immediately proceeded so far as he was able, to see to it that the Germans surrendered only to the Americans and British. On May 4, he qualified the surrender of the German forces in Holland, Denmark, and northwest Germany to the British by broadcasting that: "The war against the Western Powers has become senseless and will only lead to the shedding of precious German blood. Resistance against the Soviets is being continued to save as many Germans as possible from the Bolshevik terror."

*Germans  
continue  
fighting  
Russians.*

To a considerable extent, this strategy succeeded. It is part of the nature of unconditional surrender that it is almost impossible to refuse it when offered. The result was the extraordinary spectacle, unparalleled in military history, of the Germans fighting fiercely against the Russians in order to get to points where they could surrender to the Americans and British. The German High Command communiqué on May 5 had this Alice in Wonderland statement. "Further units of our Ninth and Twelfth armies have fought their way through to American-occupied territory."

*Effort  
to split  
Allies.*

The obvious German objective was, even in defeat, to split the Anglo-Americans from the Russians. Furthermore, the Germans were attempting to build up the legend of a Reich that went down heroically fighting Bolshevism while it was stabbed in the back by the British and Americans. Count von Krosigk broadcast that Germany "formed the bulwark of Europe . . .



REPRESENTATIVES OF NAZI GERMANY (*backs to camera*) SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY TO THE ALLIES IN A SCHOOLHOUSE  
AT RHIMS, FRANCE, 2:10 A.M., MAY 7, 1945 (8:10 P.M., MAY 6, E.W.T.) (Pages 113, 114)

FROM AN INTERNATIONAL NEWS PHOTOGRAPH



against the Red flood. She could have saved Europe from Bolshevism had her rear not been menaced." In what may be a corollary to this policy, the Doenitz regime also apparently decided to cooperate officially with the western Allies. The Germans were ordered to help repair railways insofar as they were permitted, not to blow up bridges, not to sabotage ships, and "abstain from any illegal fighting activity in the Werewolf or other organizations in enemy-occupied western territories."

The Nazis had vanished from the scene. But a new German plan to regain power by a division between the Western powers and the Russians was already taking shape.

The mighty war machine which the Nazis built to conquer the world flew into pieces last week. Under the hammering blows of General of the Army Eisenhower's offensive, the vast pockets where the Nazis planned to carry on a war beyond war turned out to be traps for what remained of the Wehrmacht.

*Nazi  
pockets  
are traps.*

The German crackup began in Italy, where Army Group "C" surrendered on May 2. In swift succession, the Germans in the other major pockets followed suit. They surrendered their forces in Holland, Denmark, Helgoland, the Frisian Islands, and Northwest Germany on May 5, and Army Group "G" in Western Austria and Bavaria on May 6. And on May 7 the Germans surrendered everything left.

*German  
crackup  
begins.*

*Peace  
feelers  
in Italy.*

On March 2, two German officers representing Gen. Karl Wolff, Nazi plenipotentiary and chief of Elite Guard formations in Northern Italy, approached Allied agents in Switzerland with peace feelers. Six days later they returned to the unidentified Swiss border town, accompanied by Wolff, who professed willingness to discuss surrender. He said that Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, then commanding German forces in Italy, would fall in line. Field Marshal Sir Harold R. L. G. Alexander, Allied commander of the Mediterranean theater notified the Allied governments.

*Germans  
surrender  
at Caserta.*

The Allied officers returned to Italy and Alexander opened his offensive. That brought definite assurances from Wolff. On April 28, a plane brought the German peace delegation to Alexander's headquarters in the Italian royal summer palace at Caserta. The Germans, a lieutenant colonel and a major respectively appearing for Col. Gen. Heinrich von Vietinghoff, new German commander in Italy, and Wolff, wore civilian sports clothes.

Sitting on a chair at one end of a highly polished table, underneath a ceiling which still bore Fascist symbols, the two Germans took turns putting their signatures on five copies of the agreement on the afternoon of April 29. Lt. Gen. W. D. Morgan, Alexander's Chief of Staff, sitting at the other end of the table, signed them swiftly.

Thus the German command turned over nearly one million men.

The stage for capitulation to Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery meanwhile had been set by the greatest disorganized surrender in German history. As the Russians swept through the province of Mecklenburg to Rostock, the Germans declared Hamburg an open city and the British entered. Montgomery sent a spearhead across the Elbe River to Wismar on the Baltic, where it met the Russians. The Germans reacted like terror-stricken rats. By the tens of thousands they sped along the roads toward the Allied lines. The prisoner bag amounted to an estimated 300,000 in three days.

*German  
army  
disorganized*

On May 3 a German delegation of four came to the British with a white flag and a curious request. They were Admiral Hans Georg von Friedeburg, new commander-in-chief of the German Navy and also a general of the army, General Kinsel, chief of staff to Field Marshal Ernst Busch, Wehrmacht commander in the north, and two officers of their staffs. Brought to Montgomery's headquarters on Lüneburg Heath—the great training ground of the German Army south of Hamburg—they asked acceptance of the surrender of three German armies—the Twelfth, Twenty-first, and Third Panzer—which were fleeing from the advancing Russians. Montgomery flatly refused, telling them to negotiate with the Russians.

*Curious  
request.*

Countering with a demand for the capitulation of all forces opposing him, including those in Denmark, Helgoland, and the Frisian Islands, Montgomery gave the

*Counter  
demand.*



Germans a look at his operational map of the western front. Then he let them think it over at lunch, which the Germans ate by themselves to the sound of the sobs of Friedeburg, who burst into tears as soon as Montgomery was out of sight.

At 4 o'clock Friedeburg and an aide went back to the German lines. The next afternoon at 5 the admiral returned to sign the agreement. A cold drizzle whipped down as the German delegation awaiting Montgomery stood before a weather-beaten tent.

Montgomery, wearing British battle-dress with red lapel tabs and his field marshal's insignia, finally sauntered down the path, bearing copies of the surrender agreement. To reporters he said out of the corner of his mouth: "This is the moment." When he entered the tent the Germans snapped to attention. Montgomery sat down and waved them to chairs around a table covered with blue cloth. As cameras clicked, Monty put on horn-rimmed spectacles and read the terms.

One by one the Germans signed, betraying no emotion. Then, taking up the wooden pen, Montgomery wrote his name on the copies. Later he remarked: "This is a good egg." By that he meant the prisoners that fell into his hands. They totaled somewhere between 500,000 and 1,000,000 men.

The wholesale debacle of the Wehrmacht in Italy and Northern Germany took the little spirit that remained out of Lt. Gen. Fritz Schultz's Army Group "G" which

*"This is  
the  
moment."*

*Wholesale  
debacle.*

opposed the Allies in Western Austria and Bavaria. Seventh Army infantry divisions, pounding through the mountains of the "National Redoubt," burst into Berchtesgaden, the sleepy Bavarian town Hitler used as a rural retreat. SS men had burnt the Führer's chalet before fleeing. American soldiers ran their flag up the pole that had borne the swastika and then dipped it to half-staff in mourning for the late President Roosevelt. On May 4, the 103rd Division of the Seventh Army reached the Brenner Pass, continued south, passing armed Germans who saluted them with precision, and made a juncture with men of the American 28th Division from Italy at 10:51 A.M. at the town of Vipiteno.

*Americans  
in Berch-  
tesgaden.*

*Brenner  
Pass  
juncture.*

That evening, a German delegation, acting on the authority of Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, southern front commandant, entered the Third Division's lines near Salzburg on a surrender mission to Gen. Jacob L. Devers' Sixth Army Group headquarters. The ten emissaries, headed by Lt. Gen. Hermann Foertsch, found Devers and other generals outside of Munich in the art museum of Prof. Joseph Thorak, reported to have been Hitler's favorite sculptor.

*Surrender  
outside of  
Munich.*

"It's understood this is unconditional surrender," Devers said incisively. When Foertsch nodded, the agreements were signed. The dour-faced Germans marked maps with blue pencils to show the positions of their troops. They confessed that they knew little of what they

had to surrender. They guessed there were between 200,000 and 400,000 men.

*Fate of  
remaining  
German  
forces.*

The German surrenders at Rheims and Berlin sealed the fate of the remaining German forces. The Norwegian garrison apparently prepared to march eastward and give up to the Swedes. German forces on the Channel Islands, the Aegean Islands, and in the French ports waited for the Allies to come and take them over. In the great southeastern pocket an estimated million men of army groups A, E, and South battled the Reds to the last. But it was the end of them too.

*Berlin  
Reichs-  
chancellery.*

Smoke and flame poured from the remains of the gray and somber Reichschancellery in Berlin. The windows which looked on the wrecked Wilhelmstrasse were blocked high with stacks of books out of which poked German machine guns. Behind them slumped the gunners, stiff in death, with Iron Crosses pinned to their uniforms. The main entrance was barricaded with large boxes of crosses and oak leaves.

*No sign  
of Hitler's  
body.*

In the high-ceilinged, grandiose rooms the floors shook and glowed with heat from raging fires. "Nothing was visible through the smoke and the heat," wrote a correspondent—least of all, any signs that might lead to Hitler's body or disclose his manner of death.

At the White House President Truman told reporters last week he was convinced Hitler was dead. He based his opinion on what he called the best possible evidence at this time.

The Moscow Radio quoted Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels's captured assistant, Dr. Hans Fritsche, as telling his interrogators that both Hitler and Goebbels committed suicide in the doomed German capital. (The Russians later said they had found Goebbels's body.) It also reported that Berliners generally believed Hitler to have committed suicide. Later still, Moscow quoted Fritsche as saying that Hitler's body "has been hidden in a place which will be impossible to find."

*Hitler  
said to be  
a suicide.*

Another version was that Hitler died of a cerebral hemorrhage. (His father died of a stroke.) General of the Army Eisenhower announced from Supreme Headquarters that Heinrich Himmler told Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden at their meeting April 24: "Hitler was so ill that he might already be dead. At any rate, he could not live more than two days longer. General Schilenburg, who was also present, added that Hitler was suffering from a brain hemorrhage."

*Report of  
cerebral  
hemorrhage.*

Field Marshal Karl von Rundstedt, taken prisoner by the United States Seventh Army, contributed the fact that when he last saw Hitler in Berlin on March 12 the Führer was "Shaking as if he had the palsy." Rundstedt thought the Führer actually was killed in Berlin because "he was a brave man."

*Führer  
"a brave  
man."*

From a German military hospital at Amberg, Bavaria, Maj. Erwin Giesing, the physician who examined Hitler after the bomb attempt last July 20, expressed doubts that the Führer died of a stroke. He declared: "When

I last saw Hitler [last Feb. 15] he was sound of heart and lungs . . . his condition could not have deteriorated to such an extent in the ten weeks since I last saw him."

Out of the catacombs of the broken city, out of the sewers and the cellars and the choking dust, stumbled the men who were to rule the world. They came with their heads down and their hands up, holding tablecloths, handkerchiefs, baby cloths—anything that looked like a surrender flag.

*Retribution  
comes to  
Berlin.*

Retribution had come to Berlin. Marshal Stalin announced the city's fall on May 2 with a victory salute of 24 rounds from 324 guns just after Moscow lifted its blackout. In the slaughter of Berlin the Germans lost 343,000 in killed or captured, and the terrible 325-mile trail from the Vistula to the Wilhelmstrasse involved 1,800,000 German casualties.

*Columns  
of the  
vanquished.*

All day in Berlin the long gray columns of the vanquished shuffled wearily through the streets. Complete hopelessness on their grimy bearded faces, they tramped in humiliation under the massive sandstone arch of the Brandenburg Gate, its eighteenth-century Chariot of Victory surmounted now by the red hammer and sickle banner. Red Army tommy-gunners watched them as they continued down the Unter den Linden, toward the monument of Frederick the Great with its symbolic figures of Moderation, Justice, Strength, and Wisdom. Ahead were the inevitable prisoner-of-war cages and the possibly long years of rebuilding cities destroyed in the

heyday of Nazism. Some 5,000,000 civilians were estimated to still be in Berlin—facing starvation and disease.

But under Col. Gen. Nikolai Berzarin, Soviet Commandant of the Berlin occupation forces, order began to emerge. In the comparatively undamaged suburbs, factories and municipal institutions were restored with the enforced aid of special German squads of engineers. The Russians hoped that some electric stations and water mains would be working in a very few days. Twenty hospitals were opened to care for wounded civilians. Food began to trickle in from the outlying districts, and the Red Army opened some bakeries and food stores for the starving population. Berliners lined up with documents and identifications, and stared wonderingly at the signs being plastered on the shattered walls: "The Red Army has no intention of exterminating the German people."

*Order  
begins to  
emerge.*

At Zossen, 20 miles south of Berlin, the Russians found the underground headquarters of the German General Staff. In the telegraph room the clock had stopped at twenty minutes to three, the moment on April 21 when the general staff had fled. Correspondents found the last exchange of messages:

*Russians  
find German  
under-  
ground  
head-  
quarters.*

Q. Is there nobody in Berlin who could be sent off with a dispatch?

A. There is not.

Q. My God, what is happening?

A. We've fought ourselves to a standstill.

Q. Attention, I have an urgent message for Field Marshal Keitel . . .

A. I told you, we are not accepting anything else . . .

Q. I should like to know what your situation is.

A. They have all ratted. I am the last . . . there is a noose around my neck . . . Ivan is at the door. I'm cutting the wires.

*"Ivan is  
at the  
door."*

But the lone operator never cut the wires. When the Soviet tommy-gunners marched in, he forgot the noose and meekly put up his hands.

[May 9, 1945. Russian armies battle German diehards who refuse to lay down arms in Czechoslovakia pocket. May 10. Point plan for army demobilization is announced. May 12. The United States opposes Yugoslav claims to Trieste. May 13. Over 500 Superfortresses blast Nagoya in greatest B-29 raid. Russians virtually complete task of mopping up German stragglers in Czechoslovakia. May 17. United States Marines enter Naha on Okinawa. May 19. Chinese forces occupy Foochow. May 22. Tension in Trieste eases as Marshal Tito compromises with American and British demands. May 23. Approximately 550 Superfortresses strike Tokyo. May 25. Japanese capital is again blitzed by gigantic B-29 blow. May 29. Yokohama is bombarded by enormous force of Superfortresses.]

*B-29's  
bombard  
Japan.*

# WE MUST WIN ANOTHER BATTLE IN GERMANY

(A.D. 1945)

CURT RIESS

MUNICH (*By Wireless*).

**A**FTER a few weeks in occupied Germany, and interviews and conversations with Germans of all walks of life, age groups, social backgrounds and convictions, you feel frustrated and utterly exasperated. You almost come to have the highest respect for Hitler, who evidently ran this country for thirteen years against the furious opposition, or at least the silent disapproval, of all its seventy-odd million inhabitants.

*Frustrated  
feeling.*

It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a Nazi these days who admits being one or ever having been one. All you find are people who profess extreme happiness about their "liberation" and are utterly servile and frightened.

*Hard  
to find  
a Nazi.*

Needless to say, we don't believe them or most of them. We know that if they resent Hitler and other Nazi leaders today it is because Hitler lost the war. If they—subjectively—oppose Nazi methods now it is be-

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cause these Nazi methods have failed to bring about German world domination and have got the Germans into the worst situation they have ever been in. If Hitler had succeeded they would still be for him, which means, as far as we are concerned, that they are still Nazis.

*Germans not  
convinced  
they were  
wrong.*

In short, the fact that our armies and air fleets proved superior to the Nazis' and that we achieved victory does not mean that the Germans are convinced, or can become so, that they were wrong and we right. Never in history has a military victory in itself changed or "re-educated" those who lost the war.

*People  
confused  
and  
confusing.*

It would be difficult to give a composite picture of the German mind today. Talking to Germans confuses you in no small measure, partly perhaps because Germans themselves are so confused.

Looking over my notes of the last few days I find the following:

Spoke to an old woman living in the town of Dachau. She inspected with horror in her eyes the dead bodies of inmates of the concentration camp shipped from Buchenwald who were left starving in freight cars. The woman wept and said she knew of the existence of the concentration camp but not that such things happened.

"This swine Hitler, these Nazi criminals—you must shoot them all," she wailed, crossing herself constantly.

I saw a full German general along a rainy, muddy little road. He was waiting in full-dress uniform to surrender to whoever came. He had emerged from his pri-

vate villa in the neighborhood when he learned that Hitler was dead.

"I haven't sworn allegiance to Doenitz," he said, "and am now free to do what I have wanted to do these last two years."

I interviewed the old manager of the most important Nazi publishing house who for twenty years published all the Nazi literature and papers. He said: "I never approved of everything the Nazis did. I told Hitler so myself. I even had a Jewish friend. You must simply consider me as a business man with no political views."

*Never approved of Nazis.*

Indeed he was a business man making millions printing what he didn't believe.

I talked to an army interpreter in a German war-prisoner camp who claimed to have been "nice" to British prisoners. He begged me to ask them, which I did, and they confirmed that indeed he had been nice to them during the last year when he knew that the Nazis wouldn't win.

*"Nice" to British prisoners.*

I saw a man imprisoned for a minor offense and about to be shot when American troops entered Munich and thus saved his life. He told me this and continued: "You know, during the first days after liberation Munich foreign workers entered and looted several Munich homes. They stole from me my last two pounds of butter. Isn't it disgusting?"

*Two pounds of butter.*

I saw an elderly SS general who had donned civilian clothes sitting after his arrest in the waiting room of the

*Subdued  
but still  
complaining.*

offices of the Military Government where he was to be interrogated. This man had been personally responsible for killing countless men of all nationalities in Nazi camps. Now he was a little old man subdued and afraid but still complaining that the guards refused to let him go to the toilet alone or talk to other arrested people.

*Devoted  
to his  
family.*

I talked to the maid of an arrested Nazi big shot. Though this man has a criminal record stretching over fifteen years the maid felt certain that a grave mistake had been made. She said, "My boss has been so devoted to his family; he lived but for his wife and children and was so good to us servants."

I talked to a well-known actor who for many years was a favorite of the Nazis, hobnobbing with them, living with them on their estates and making countless propaganda pictures.

"I never was interested in politics," he said. "Basically I was opposed to nazism, which doesn't permit the functioning of freedom of art."

This list could be continued *ad nauseam*.

*Afraid  
of the  
Russians.*

In most of these people you can find certain common denominators: They're all frightened—afraid mainly of the Russians but also of the Western Allies as until a short time ago they were afraid of the Gestapo. And they feel disappointed at and disgusted by recent developments, which doesn't mean by nazism.

Then you have certain groups or schools of thinking or reactions. You have the so-called decent Germans,

those who have in some measure proved that they are anti-Nazi. But they don't necessarily welcome us. Some of them are even furious at us. Take, for instance, the Bishop of Muenster, Count Clemens von Galen, who opposed the Nazis on many issues but who since we bombed his city seems to feel that this was the greatest wrong committed in this war. *So-called decent Germans.*

Then there are those who have admitted the German guilt and are prepared to take the consequences, to suffer and pay—this is the line of those organized in “Free Germany.”

The largest group is composed of Germans who feel, above all, that they have suffered enough and should be left alone or given an opportunity to remake their lives. Many, perhaps most, belonging to this group are quite happy about our coming because they believe that we will improve their situation.

I talked to German business men and industrialists and found these people just as arrogant as ever. They believe that the world simply has to do something for Germany, the implication being that a world without Germany wouldn't be worth living in. And they are by no means moderate in their demands. Others who have proved beyond doubt that they were strong anti-Nazis and who remained inside Germany not without taking great risks, asked me: “Why did we work against Hitler? Why did we go on under the gravest dangers if we are now going to starve or die from epidemics?” These people invari- *Arrogant as ever.*

*Atlantic  
Charter  
for all.*

ably throw into the discussion the Atlantic Charter, declaring that this document doesn't make sense if it isn't meant for all the people of the world.

In short, as far as all these Germans are concerned the war is over and the peace for them should be wonderful, or, at least, a vast improvement. They want us to change things for them though they haven't the slightest intention of changing themselves. They even don't think that there is such a necessity, for what are we going to do about it; what can we do about it? they ask.

*World  
can't take  
a chance.*

There are optimists among us who believe that we won't have to interfere in the matter of German re-education. They feel that once the Germans begin to reflect and think out for themselves the reasons for the mess in which they are, they will re-educate themselves. To be sure, this is a possibility. But the world can't take a chance on it. The world has taken too many chances in believing in the "better Germans."

*Re-education  
to be  
hard and  
long.*

There are others who believe that the re-education of the Germans will not be too difficult or take too long. These people say that since it took Hitler only about ten years to make the Germans what they are today, it will not take us longer to undo what the Nazis accomplished. In my opinion this is an illusion. The Nazi teachers could succeed in making the Germans into Nazi robots so speedily because most Germans did not have any basic view, any "weltanschauung" which opposed

nazism and had to be destroyed. But now the situation is different.

The Nazi Germans have basic views which must be destroyed or proved absurd before they can be replaced by something saner. *Basic views must be destroyed.*

In dealing with the subject of re-education we must, however, not take the moment of our entry into Germany as a final measure of the German mental and psychological situation. This moment represents nothing but a certain stage within the mental development of the Germans. When we began to occupy Germany the Germans—any number of Germans—were no longer what they had been a year or two before. A year or two after the Allied occupation is a *fait accompli* these same Germans will no longer be what they are now. They will have developed further. In what direction, to which viewpoints—that is the question.

Time will work for us and against us. It will work against us because things will go from bad to worse in Germany. There will be epidemics, there will be starvation, there will be not enough houses, there will be chaos, even if, on the surface, the chaos is regulated by Allied troops. It will come precisely as Dr. Goebbels predicted. He will prove to have been a good prophet, while the pro-Allied Germans inside Germany, who for years have spread the line that if only Hitler were out and the Allies were in control everything would be much better, will be unmasked as liars. *Time for and against us.*

This robs us of our best weapon of propaganda—this makes it impossible to prove in the most obvious manner that democracy is a better kind of order than Hitler's order.

And would it be too good an idea to save the Germans from hunger which they themselves are to blame for? I overheard two women in Heidelberg making fun of us Americans who helped them to food after they had all but starved our prisoners.

*Fun  
made of  
Americans.*

This alone should show us how wrong it would be to assume that our second victory, which has to be achieved, can be the result of a psychological blitzkrieg. One can destroy a house and the human beings in it within a split second. One cannot rebuild this house in any comparable time, and still one can rebuild a house so much faster than a human being. There are no short cuts to our psychological victory to come.

*No  
short cuts.*

And what weapons are at our disposal to conduct this psychological war of the future? What means have we to impress and affect the vast masses of Germans? What channels of propaganda are at our disposal?

Even if the theatres were standing, if the printing presses could work for us, even if all the channels of propaganda were at our disposal, the result would be negligible. Dr. Goebbels has used these channels to such a degree that he has compromised them. He has made the Germans into Nazis but at the same time filled them with utter skepticism as far as the trustworthiness of the

*Propaganda  
difficulties.*

press, the radio or any public or official statement goes. In such a way one can say that he has burned his bridges behind him. We can no longer use them.

Also, no former enemy of the Germans can be used for the purpose of disseminating propaganda. They won't believe anyone who only yesterday was fighting them. They won't listen for a long time to anyone who speaks literally or in a figurative sense with a foreign accent, nor will they listen to anybody who may be in the pay of their former enemies. This is just as fundamental a fact as the fact that one cannot hope to re-educate German children through imported teachers who at best could be considered as comic relief, but who would probably have the more serious effect of developing even stronger nationalistic feelings in the German youth.

*Germans  
won't  
believe or  
listen.*

The Germans are not only suspicious; they are also very tired, and tired not only in a physical sense. They have been fed with so much propaganda; they have listened to so many speeches—and under Hitler they had to listen—their minds will be so occupied with the daily worries of providing food or repairing leaking roofs that they will not be able or willing to concentrate on complicated matters.

*Suspicious  
and tired.*

But time doesn't only work against us. In certain respects it works for us. While the Germans may be too tired to indulge in heavy and complicated thinking about nazism, democracy and other general principles, theories



and philosophies, there is no doubt that today they are already desirous of knowing what has happened, and, even more important, what is going to happen to them.

*Desire  
for real  
information.*

I talked to a former German newspaperman who, until a short time ago, was correspondent of the official German News Agency in neutral Switzerland, and decided to quit the Nazis while the quitting was still good. I asked him what kind of newspaper he would make for the Germans after things had calmed down. Unhesitatingly he answered, "Give them news. Just news, just short pieces of information." He explained that most Germans were starved for news, since with the war going from bad to worse, the Propaganda Ministry had cut down news in German newspapers to almost nothing, while the space devoted to propaganda was steadily enlarged.

*News in  
small  
doses.*

This German felt that most Germans would be grateful if they could find out some of the things which were kept from them while they were happening. But he advised strongly against giving too much of such information in too short a time. Nothing would be more fatal than to start a large-scale campaign of enlightenment. We would have to give the Germans the news—the bad news of yesterday—in small doses. Otherwise they simply would refuse to believe it. Today and for a long time to come they would refuse to believe, for instance, the horrors committed by the Germans in Polish and French death camps. Only if they learned the horrible truth little

by little so that they could get used to the idea that Germans after all were capable of committing such crimes—an idea supposedly inconceivable to most of them—could anything worth while be accomplished.

My experiences in Germany have proved, at least to my own satisfaction, that this man was entirely right. Since Germans in all occupied parts of the country were forbidden to use the radio, the hunger for news has become unbelievably strong. All of them ask you about the latest developments. Most of them no longer believe that they have learned the truth from the Nazis. But if you tell them of the horrors of the concentration camps on which they are unable to check, they simply don't believe you. If you want to convince them you have to go extremely slow.

*The need  
to go  
slowly.*

Later, memories of the past might help, too. Everybody in Germany will remember that past—indeed, the countless ruins will render forgetting impossible.

*Ruins  
a helpful  
reminder.*

I wrote more than two years ago, at a time when most of us fondly believed that the German armies would collapse as soon as they had reached the German frontier, that Germany would have to be invaded and that the inevitable destruction of Germany would show the Germans what they had not realized for many generations, namely, that war was not only something to be conducted in other people's countries but something which could, and perhaps always would, come back to Germany. It seemed to me that the very existence of such

ruins, the very memory of the dreadful invasion would frighten the Germans from starting another war.

*Hitler—  
war—  
destruction.*

I still believe so. I think that eventually Bishop von Galen will become reconciled to the idea that his palace was bombed and that many other Germans will write off their personal losses as well. But if ever a new Hitler or a bunch of new Hitlers were to come up, and if their appearance were made at a time when the Germans already had learned that nazism (or whatever it then called itself) must eventually lead to war then the ruins of this war would play a decisive part. The logical thought and association would be: Hitler—war—destruction.

*Conquest  
expensive.*

This is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. It should help to make the Germans understand that the idea of conquest and of national prestige arrived at by the proof of physical superiority, is not only horrifying but extremely expensive to those who cherish it. Then one day they may comprehend that it is not absolutely necessary for the happiness of a nation to make other nations tremble in their boots, that one can be perfectly happy without rendering the neighbors unhappy; that one can live peacefully and let others live peacefully.

The great and lamented French-American writer Raoul de Roussy de Sales once, in exasperation about the Nazis, exclaimed to this writer, "Will the Germans never grow up?"

I think they will begin to grow up once they conceive—what they have not understood so far—that it is not

enough to have survived Hitler. Everything will depend on their understanding that to have lived under Hitler is to be co-responsible for what happened under Hitler, on their understanding that this co-responsibility stretches over all the years of the Third Reich and, most important, over many years to come. This the Germans must discuss, thrash out among themselves and finally make everyone in the country understand. This would be the final phase in the remaking of Germany. It would be a rebuilding of a new and better German world with material—simply information—we have furnished. The use of the information must be made by the Germans themselves. They and only they can build their new world. Therefore, in a phrase, Germany must have a free “responsible” press, must have as much cultural freedom and latitude as possible. Only thus can the sense of responsibility for the past, and for the future based on the past, be developed.

*Germans  
co-respon-  
sible with  
Hitler.*

*Self-re-  
education  
needed.*

Will the Germans ever grow up? We can do little toward this development except create certain preconditions. But history shows that eventually all nations grow up. The growing up has always had to be accomplished by their own blood, sweat and tears, and with the help of their own best men. There are no short cuts to this process on which so much depends for our children and their children. While it would be our final victory it must be a victory of the Germans over themselves.

*All nations  
grow up  
eventually.*



# TERROR IN JAPAN

(A.D. 1945)

MARK GAYN

ON A stormy morning last March, terror sneaked up on Japan. When it took its unhurried leave ten fearful days later, her people had had their first bitter foretaste of defeat. Up to then, it had been a remote and leisurely war. Here and there, in Japan's teeming cities, shelters were being built. Along some streets, shallow trenches had been dug. There had also been rehearsals, with some people pretending they were hurt, and others pretending they knew how to take care of the injured.

*Foretaste  
of defeat.*

Of warnings there had been plenty. A dozen big raids had left ugly blotches on Japan's map. In February, an American task force had prowled dangerously along her coast. But mostly the attacks had been nuisance raids by lonely Superforts—250 of them in 216 forays in 120 days. Fear flew in on their wings, but the damage was slight and the fear evaporated.

*Plenty  
of  
warnings.*

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*The National Weekly*.

Then, at midnight, on March 10, 1945, a group of Superforts crossed Japan's coast line. Behind them came another group, and another in a line stretching far back toward Saipan. In a long, thin file they roared over Tokyo. They flew low, and out of their open bellies spilled bombs of jellied gasoline. When they hit, they burst, spewing out billowing, all-consuming fire. The flames leaped across fire lanes, swallowed factories, destroyed skyscrapers.

*Bombs of  
jellied  
gasoline.*

The last of the 300 Superforts left Tokyo at 2:40 A.M., but the fires blazed on for many hours, eating hungrily into the city's heart, with its war plants, department stores, railroad terminals, and the countless thousands of homes in which women and children were making the small parts and gadgets without which no modern war machine can function.

*Fires  
blaze for  
many hours.*

"The city burned like straw," said a Nazi eyewitness, in an intercepted message to Berlin. "Entire districts were burned down to the ground. As soon as the first incendiaries fell, the night was lighted up. The Superforts flew incredibly low above the spreading fires. One B-29 exploded almost over the very heart of Tokyo."

*Entire  
districts  
consumed.*

That night, he added, more people had been bombed out of their homes than in the heaviest raid ever endured by Germany.

The fires spread so rapidly, a Russian correspondent reported to Moscow, that the fire brigades never had a chance. The burden of fighting the flames thus fell on

the ill-trained, ill-equipped *Tonari Gumi*, or neighborhood groups. The water mains failed, and bucket brigades vainly splashed water against the walls of fire.

*Failure  
of water  
mains.*

Driven by a storm, flames leaped across the narrow, winding streets. Crowds seeking escape found themselves trapped. For once, the arrogant policemen fled together with the mobs, and together perished.

Those who could rushed to the bridges and the parks. The imperial grounds were opened to the refugees, but there, too, a fire was burning. The high and low suffered alike. Generals and cabinet ministers lost their homes. A dozen members of the Diet died, or were made homeless.

*High and  
low suffer.*

Few doctors were available to treat the victims. What was more important, vast stores of food were destroyed in the warehouses, and it became necessary to rush food into the city. Crowds fought their way into the departing trains. Helpless, the police gave up asking for tickets or travel permits. The exodus went on for days, for even those whose homes survived now wanted to flee. Before the ten days were done, three million people of Tokyo's seven million joined the flight.

*Exodus  
from  
Tokyo.*

Long lines stretched before first-aid stations and hospitals. Community kitchens were set up in the blackened streets. With many public bathhouses burned down, private homes were compelled to open their bathrooms to the refugees. So many people had lost their ration books that after the early days of confusion, food was issued



stamp-free to the victims. Evacuees were given five days rations.

On the roads leading from Tokyo, evacuees streamed out, on foot or bicycle. In the neighboring areas, officials sought empty barns, stocked up food, made arrangements to put the refugees to work in war factories.

Until their damaged plants could be repaired, the five Tokyo newspapers issued a joint daily. In it, men found orders, pleas to be calm, bitter abuse heaped on the American "savages and barbarians."

*High-sounding committees created.*

Embers were still hot on the ground when the Cabinet met to consider relief and defense. Before it dispersed, it had, in the typical way of Japanese bureaucracy, created a handful of committees with high-sounding if vague titles.

In the Diet that day, the Premier dodged charges of inefficiency by angry members bombed out of their homes. "The people are very much concerned," cried the members. "Have any steps been taken in regard to food? Will firemen be released from the army?"

Unhappily, the Premier pleaded guilty. "The people are caught in a feeling of restlessness and anxiety. . . . A plan will soon be made public. . . . The people will be asked to conform. . . ."

*Food stocks dispersed.*

The wheels of government were beginning to turn again. The post office announced it would carry only short messages from the raid victims to their friends and relatives. What food stocks remained in the city were

hastily dispersed, in fear of another raid. A "National Defense Mobile Bicycle Repair Shop" had gone into action.

Transportation remained disorganized. Repair crews worked on burned-out stations and twisted tracks. Express trains had been canceled. In their stead, all passenger cars were mobilized to move evacuees. Freight trains were doing double duty, taking out war plants and bringing in food. Because of transportation snags, the cigarette ration had been cut from seven a day to three. ("The best thing is to stop smoking altogether," said the Tokyo radio.) *Transportation disorganized.*

Belatedly, government experts announced that 3,000 new air-raid shelters would be built in Tokyo. "Model shelters" for individual families were put on display, but for lack of nails and wood, the people were told to use salvaged building material. *New air-raid shelters planned.*

In fear of raids it knew would come soon, the government charted 100 new firebreaks, 160 to 650 feet wide, around factories and railroad stations. Special agents then chalked the single, ominous word "Evacuate" on tens of thousands of doomed one-story matchwood buildings, and their residents were told to move out. Once the houses were vacated, thick ropes were put around their supports, and tractors or teams of men pulled the buildings down. *More firebreaks.*

On the morning of the eighth day, the emperor expressed a desire to see the damage. This had happened

*Emperor  
views  
damage.*

only twice since the great earthquake of 1923, and the Japanese propaganda machine took care to publicize it. With his retinue, the emperor spent an hour in the damaged area.

Wherever he went, the people knelt before him in the rubble and apologized for "causing him anxiety" and thanked him for "taking compassion on the privations of his subjects." A multimillionaire many times over, he had given the victims ten million yen (about \$2,300,000 at the prewar exchange rate), and the official news agency at once reported that "the people responded like scorched grass revived by seasonable rain."

*"We're  
going  
to win."*

The newspapers carried the emperor's picture under a banner headline. The nation's network carried a passionate speech by a famous commentator: "This evening my friend visited me. He opened a newspaper and told me to worship it. I looked at the gracious figure of His Imperial Majesty, and could not speak for a while. 'We're going to win. We're going to win for certain!' I shouted."

*Ten-day  
attack  
by  
Superforts.*

This was Tokyo, stunned and scorched. Briefly the eyes of Japan were on it. But Japan's terrible lesson was only beginning. On the night of March 11th, the Superforts returned to her skies, to attack Nagoya, where airplanes are made. On the 14th came the turn of Osaka—huge and ugly and busy making guns. On the 17th, neighboring Kobe, where men-of-war are built, was hit. By luck, Nagoya escaped much damage. Thus, on the night of the 19th, the Superforts were back, for a second,

fiercer strike. It was as if New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh and Washington, D. C., had been devastated in a tragic ten-day period.

And as if that was not enough, the famed Task Force 58 sailed boldly to Japan's shores on March 18th. At 6 o'clock that morning, 1,400 carrier planes took off to blast airfields, factories and railroads. The following day, 1,100 planes returned to finish off the targets which still survived.

*Task Force 58 blasts Japan.*

Now all Japan lay naked and in fear, and none bothered to conceal the hurt. "This," said her radio, "marks the outset of the war's final and grimmest phase."

"Nippon can take it!" boasted Tokyo. "National resolve is strengthened rather than weakened by the rain of death." But if the truth be told, her people and leaders took the blow with no greater moral strength than the hapless people of the lands she had devastated. There were fear and confusion. There were fumbling, charges, recriminations.

*Fear and confusion.*

Seventy-one generals were reshuffled. The governor of Tokyo, an empire builder with a vicious record, was angrily assailed for talking to the Japanese the way he had earlier talked to the Chinese. Much too late, two billion yen was appropriated for air defense.

In all the big cities, the government urged the people to leave, but transportation was inadequate, and for many, there was no place to go. "There is no time to

think of such things," said Tokyo sternly. "Walk if need be to the near-by prefectures. . . ."

*Total of  
losses for  
ten days.*

And it had finally totaled up the losses of those fearful ten days. More than three million people, it reported, had been killed, injured or left homeless. More than three quarters of a million houses had been destroyed in four cities. Tokyo fared worst, with 510,000 buildings burned down or demolished, and 2,100,000 victims.

*Loss of  
Iwo adds  
to terror.*

Nor was this the end. Before the ten days had ended, the sense of terror had been compounded by the loss of Iwo. The papers bravely called it a "moral victory" and spoke of its garrison joining the "army of ghosts" defending Japan. The terror was all the greater because it was superimposed against the background of wartime scarcity, shabbiness, exhaustion.

*Rations  
are cut.*

In the face of the blockade, Japan slashed the monthly rice ration from 30 to 20 pounds. (At the risk of a year in jail, many promptly rushed to claim "ghost relatives.") Fish, the second food staple of Japan, is scarce, and what there is of it is often rotten. The vegetable ration dropped to a pound a week.

But even this hungry diet is irregular. Graft, red tape, disrupted communications play havoc with distribution. One village has to stretch a two-week supply of rice over a month. A locality lives on tomatoes for a week. A prefecture (equivalent to one of our states) goes along without sugar for a month.

The people are hungry. Once the first animal fear is gone, food replaces even the air raids as the main topic of conversation, and the people's anger finds an echo even in the regimented press. Cries a daily: "One red radish is given each person in Tokyo every two days. This is probably enough for a horse, but too little for a human being." Another reports that 60 per cent of the children are undernourished, 30 per cent have dysentery, and "in every classroom daily, there are, on an average, one student vomiting and two being sent home with dizziness."

*Food is  
main topic.*

Hunger and fatigue go hand in hand. Apathetically, a worker reports that sleep does men no good "because we are worn out." When, however, the ten days of terror had ended, the government canceled even the meager two days of rest a month granted until then.

*Hunger  
and  
fatigue.*

But nothing gives a truer picture of Japan's distress than the broadcasts and private radiograms which fill her air. In them are exposed the worries, the hopes and secrets of her little men and her leaders. By the thousands, these messages flash between Japan and every corner of her crumbling empire to be intercepted by our watchful monitors.

*Radio  
reveals  
distress.*

A gendarmerie chief on a dinky, local Japanese station: "Some people have become listless. We must hold firm to our faith, we must keep our heads."

A station in Tokyo: "Until further notice, service is suspended on the following street-car lines . . ."

*Communi-  
cations  
blocked.*

An unidentified station in Japan: "Travelers planning trips on the Tokaido and Chuo lines are warned communications have been blocked."

A station in Korea: "Pamphlets dropped by the enemy must not deceive us. Surrender them to the nearest police station at once. . . . Enemy broadcasts must be studiously avoided. . . . The Americans and the British cheated the Italians with their broadcasts. . . ."

A station in Formosa: "Most of our contacts with the homeland have been severed since the enemy landed on Okinawa. Formosa must struggle alone. . . ."

And another: "Due to the change in war conditions, items such as kitchen pots, electric bulbs, umbrellas can no longer be issued. . . . Several families must now use a common pot for cooking, thus saving fuel and making other pots available to the state."

From Nanking, a commercial radiogram to Tokyo: "Business impossible."

*"Cancel  
contracts.  
Excuse."*

From the Mitsubishi supertrust in Tokyo to Saigon: "For lack of transportation, your 1,000 cases deteriorated. Only way is to cancel contracts. Excuse."

From Indo-China to Tokyo: "Cancel the contracts, since there is no hope of shipping out the ordered jute."

*Grisly  
tidings.*

And from every corner come grisly tidings of personal grief. From a town in Japan to Wuhu, in China: "Aiko dead." From Peiping to Japan: "Kiyoko's ashes sent by air. . . ." From Shanghai to Numagi: "Passenger boat full. Must wait another three months." From Takayama

to a worried rubber trader in Rangoon, himself already menaced by the approaching British: "Your mother evacuated. . . ." From Bangkok to Osaka: "Am in favor of evacuation. . . ."

And, as the only note of comic relief, a message from the German Minister in Bangkok to Reichsminister Reichsfuehrer S. S. Himmler: "In faithful loyalty I think of you on your birthday with best wishes. Heil Hitler!" *Comic relief.*

Air raids, hunger, weariness, evacuation, the sense of defeat, the collapse of Japan's allies, all these intertwine into a pattern of flesh and spirit in acute distress. Less than a fortnight after the fall of Iwo comes the invasion of Okinawa, still closer home. The ten days are followed by other days and nights of terror.

To keep the spirit up, the government resorts to the familiar totalitarian devices: police terror, scare campaigns, skillfully guided mass hysteria, and lies without limit. When Americans advance on Okinawa, the Jap navy blandly claims it has sunk or damaged 21 American carriers, 19 battleships, 55 cruisers and 16 "battleships or cruisers." *Lies without limit.*

But all such claims are only a drug which can give Japan momentary hope, but cannot save her. It does no good any more to boast of victories, or to conceal the imminence of American invasion. Thus Japan's leaders let out some of the terrifying truth. The Premier himself issues the warning: "We must be prepared for the conversion of our homeland into a battlefield. . . ." *Terrifying truth.*



*People  
told  
to arm.*

The people of Japan are called on to arm themselves. "The bamboo spear is an excellent weapon," declares a broadcast. "Our warriors have fought with it in all their battles. Select a bamboo cane, sharpen it, dab the point with vegetable oil. Such a spear would easily stab through the bellies of our foes."

But even more drastic action is needed. On the last of the ten days of terror, the government introduces a bill to create a "Fortress Japan." Under this bill, the army can take over property, direct production, freeze labor.

*Home  
Defense  
armies.*

Japan's toughest generals, who once carved the map of Asia, are called back to defend her own soil. The Home Defense armies are split in two, to permit continued resistance in one half of Japan if the other falls. Government and economy are decentralized, to avert paralysis should Tokyo be lost. The premier talks of "area by area" defense.

*Campaign  
against  
black  
markets.*

A rigorous campaign is begun against *yamitorihiki*, the black market or "bargaining in the dark." The government admits the failure of its rationing program and estimates the army of "black marketeers" at one million. They are rounded up by the thousand and tossed into jails already overflowing with men and women arrested for "dangerous thought."

In Tokyo, over a ten-day period, 18,500 people are hauled off to police stations. Of these, 6,500 are vaguely accused of sabotage and 3,900 of "wicked behavior."

Old parties, which failed to drum up popular enthusiasm, go into the discard. In their stead comes a new outfit, headed by the 70-year-old flabby-fleshed jingoist, General Minami, who in 1931 engineered the rape of Manchuria. In a beer hall, a group of paunchy men, once known as "moderates," launches a "Party for a Twenty-Year War."

*Party for a Twenty-Year War.*

"Invasion!" warns the press. "Invasion!" cries the radio. Foreign Ministry officials solemnly tell the people mass castrations are being planned by the invaders. A commentator declares: "If we ever surrender, we'll be treated like the Rumanians."

*Invasion warnings.*

But nothing gets more fanfare than Kamikaze, which means Divine Wind, or the tempest which centuries ago dispersed an armada of Mongol invaders. The word caught Japanese fancy when it was attached to the "suicide fliers" trying to crash into American men-of-war. When, with proper guidance, Kamikaze took hold of the susceptible Japanese mind, Japan's leaders channeled the hysteria into new fields.

*Divine Wind fanfare.*

Japanese submarines, one of the spectacular failures of this war, now boast of ramming Allied warships in true Kamikaze style. In factories, Kamikaze brigades work 16 to 18 hours, in an effort to increase production. In the country, Kamikaze teams drain swamps or till wastelands hitherto thought useless. Throughout the land, Kamikaze units are being formed for unspecified tasks beginning the day of the invasion. Thus, through terror,

false hope and skillfully guided hysteria, Japan's rulers mobilize the nation's strength for the next great battles. And Americans must not underestimate the fury and determination with which the coming battles will be fought. Japan is hard hit but not by any means fatally hurt. Her morale is still firm, her hatred for us is still unquenched, her punch still painful. Our admirals and generals want you to give a lot of hard, sober thought to the facts below. Each of them means time, stubborn effort, American lives.

*Japan hard  
hit, not  
fatally  
hurt.*

First, the Japanese war machine is still powerful. Nowhere is it near the bottom of the reserve barrel. The army still has 3,000,000 men, with 2,000,000 more in reserve. Most of these can be expected to fight with skill and fury in the defense of their own land.

*War  
machine  
powerful.*

Our airmen have helped to send thousands of Japan's best pilots to their end. But her air force still packs a powerful wallop, and despite the heavy pounding, her airplane factories were still turning out a thousand planes a month in May.

Shorn of its best ships and ablest admirals, Japan's navy is still a constant menace. It has the twin advantages of being close to home bases and knowing tomorrow's weather ahead of us. Under cover of a storm, it can still sneak up for a painful blow. Even more than the army, the navy is tough, resolute, fanatical.

*Destruction  
of industry  
only begun.*

Second, we have only begun to destroy Japan's industry. As we have found out in Germany, this takes time

and much more muscle than we have yet been able to supply. Some of Japan's industry has already burrowed deep into the ground; some has been decentralized; some shifted to Korea and Manchuria. Much of Japan's war output comes from the one-family "factories," working as subcontractors. It takes time to bomb them out.

Third, Japan's morale as yet remains solid. If we have learned any lesson in Europe, it is that air blitz does not knock peoples out of war. There is no reason to believe the Japanese will be any softer than the British, the Russians, the Germans or the Chinese.

*Morale  
remains  
solid.*

Fourth, Japan now fights in her front yard, while we have to cart all our supplies nearly halfway around the world. Each man we land on Japan's beaches will need five to ten tons of supplies in the first month. U. S. Army supply chief figure that a force of 250,000 men, small as invasion forces go, will need in the first thirty days 700,000 different items, from buttons to bridges, for the total weight of 1,900,000 tons. This, too, means time.

*Supply  
problems  
of invasion.*

Fifth, despite the blockade, Japan has had two years to accumulate stock piles of supplies she needs to wage war. She still probably has enough aluminum and copper for a year, gasoline for eighteen months, rubber for five years, and tin for eight.

*Japan's  
stock  
piles.*

The Americans whose business it is to weigh all these factors, both material and intangible, are not sanguine over the prospects of a quick knockout.

Maybe this is one reason why Washington, while hoping for fate's favors, soberly girds itself for a war that might not end until the distant spring of 1947.

*Allied  
control of  
Germany  
begins.*

[June 1, 1945. More than 450 B-29's drop bombs on Osaka, arsenal center of Japan. June 5. The United States, Britain, Russia, and France take control of the Reich. June 6. United States Marines win Naha airfield. June 8. B-29's batter Nagoya, Osaka, and Kobe in first triple blow. June 9. Yugoslavia accepts Anglo-American policing of Trieste. June 14. Over 500 Superfortresses smash at Osaka. June 18. Chinese win Wenchow port. June 21. Conquest of Okinawa is completed after costly 82-day campaign. Aparri in North Luzon is won, and 20,000 Japanese are trapped. June 22. Australians capture Seria oil fields in Borneo. June 26. World security parley at San Francisco closes as delegates of the United Nations sign World Charter.]

## UNITED NATIONS: LAST CHANCE

(A.D. 1945)

**T**HIS week the San Francisco security conference was near enough to its goal to pause for President Truman's message of congratulations on achieving the aims set for the parley by its original sponsor the late President Roosevelt.

Weary delegates were hopeful that the last comma and semicolon in the security charter would be in place within a week.

From San Francisco will emerge the formula for a new world organization, dedicated to the proposition that peace is indivisible—or at least that it can be preserved only so long as a coalition of powerful nations remains indivisible.

*Formula  
for a new  
world organization.*

The new organization—to be known as the United Nations—with a Security Council, an Assembly, an International Court of Justice, and an Economic and Social Council, is a contemporary variation of an old theme—older than the balances of power established at Westphalia, Utrecht, Vienna, and Versailles. It is, however,

*Variation  
of an  
old theme.*

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*No  
sovereignty  
sacrificed.*

a banding together of great and little powers in a more representative — and perhaps more effective — international organization than ever before. And yet it cannot be denied that in creating the United Nations none of the world's effective warmakers has sacrificed—or delegated—an iota of its sovereignty or its strength.

*Big Five  
power bloc.*

The Big Five—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and the Provisional Government of France—constitute a power bloc in the Security Council. They have agreed upon the principle of unanimity among themselves formulated at the Yalta conference of the Big Three. In so doing they have recognized the unhappy truth that if one of the great powers insists upon the use of force for selfish ends, the Security Council and the rest of the United Nations are helpless to prevent aggression short of military action on a global scale.

It was this principle of unanimity among the Big Five that created or prolonged many of the headlined “crises” at San Francisco.

*“Little  
45.”*

Most of the crises evolved from discussion of changes wrought in the Dumbarton Oaks document, product of last year's Big Four talks on world security arrangements. And most of these changes originated with the “Little 45” although they were fought to a finish by the Big Five. There were, including approximate duplications, some 700 amendments suggested by participating nations—including the great powers—and the 40-odd im-

portant amendments agreed upon have at least partially fulfilled the aims of some 400 of the original suggestions.

But whether the issues at San Francisco originated among the little nations or arose between the great powers, they epitomized the fears and jealousies of all sovereign states. *Fears and jealousies.*

Small countries trembled at the obvious, enviable, but necessary concentration of authority in the hands of the great powers, already the repository of the world's strength. Each of the Big Five vigorously defends its individual prerogatives and its assumed "special interests" beyond its borders. Hence the critical battles centered around protection of the sovereignty and hegemony which international organization, to be effective, must attempt to diminish or regulate. *"Special interests."*

Not all of the crises which impinged upon the discussions at San Francisco arose within the substantive scope of the parley. Some were transported from far away Poland, Syria, and Argentina to be detonated at the conference, and others rattled down the corridors of history echoing the clashes of Versailles and Geneva, where previous attempts to create and preserve peace had failed.

Progress at San Francisco sometimes hinged upon debate over technical details of protocol, or interlingual definitions of terms, and at other times upon argument over high-sounding aims which cloak fundamental—and probably irreconcilable—conflicts between the left and *Debate and argument.*



right, between the past and the future, and between the ruler and the ruled.

*"Equality"  
and  
"unanimity."* In the opening days of the conference the legalistic approach of the Soviet delegation, and its continuing insistence upon "equality" and "unanimity" among the chief powers were illustrated by the sharp clash on protocol concerning the conference chairmanship.

*Rotating  
chairman-  
ship.* There was no election of U. S. Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., by polite acclaim. Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Molotov of the U.S.S.R. insisted upon and won a rotating chairmanship by the chief delegates of the Big Four sponsoring powers, with the Steering Committee chair relinquished by common agreement to Stettinius.

The Soviets were accused of being difficult. Mexico's Foreign Minister Padilla was affronted by Molotov's bluntness. But this decision set the stage for a later argument over whether the Secretary General of the permanent Secretariat of the United Nations shall have five deputy secretaries-general representing the Big Five.

*Admission  
of  
Argentina.* On admission of the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Socialist Republics as separate members of the conference and the world organization, the Yalta understanding (that they would be admitted) was upheld—but not without disturbing repercussions. For it was widely charged that the Latin-American nations refused to accept the Yalta decision to admit the Soviet republics unless the United States secure admission of Argentina

(by hasty recognition, and bloc-voting at the parley)—a contingency reported to have been expressly barred at Yalta. Molotov fought the unexpected invitation long and eloquently.

If the United States had been forced to trade admission of the Soviet delegations for Argentine admission, Molotov's protests—which carried an offer to agree if the Polish Provisional Government were admitted—were of the same nature but met with less success. These horse-trading tactics fostered cynicism among both delegates and the public at a critical stage in the conference proceedings. *Cynicism fostered.*

Argentina's admission to the parley, for which Stettinius virtually apologized later, was promptly thrown into disturbing perspective by events in Buenos Aires, where pro-United Nations agitators were arrested and thrown into prison by the hundreds, rigid censorship was imposed on foreign correspondents, and martial law was unofficially in effect. *Events in Buenos Aires.*

Detention in the Soviet Union of alleged Polish saboteurs (or democratic leaders, in the words of Stettinius and Britain's Anthony Eden) did not contribute to an atmosphere of mutual trust and optimism at the conference. Despite the tenuous relationship between the Polish question and San Francisco, reopening of three-power discussions in Moscow with a view toward creating a Polish Government of National Unity eased the tension. *Polish question.*

*Trustee-  
ship  
problems.*

The concept of trustee arrangements for (1) mandated areas—legacies of the old League of Nations, (2) territories detached from enemy states, and (3) territories voluntarily placed under international supervision by states responsible for them, was not a Dumbarton Oaks creation.

The original British and American version of the trusteeship chapter in the charter would have precluded Soviet participation in settlement of trusteeship problems. The alacrity with which Molotov stymied this gesture and followed up with amendments which if morally unassailable were politically unacceptable (to colonial powers) began another big-power sparring match.

Not only did the Soviets insist on active participation in trusteeship decisions—who gets what, where, when, and how—but they refused to accept self-government alone as an objective toward which dependent areas might aspire. They insisted on adding to “self-government” the phrase “or independence,” whichever may be appropriate to the territory and in accord with its people’s wishes.

*Veto-  
power  
issue.*

The biggest and most bitterly contested issue—finally requiring the intervention of Prime Minister Churchill, President Truman, and Premier Stalin—was that of the veto power.

At Yalta it had been decided that success of the new security organization realistically depended upon unanimity of the Big Five, and none of these—least of all

the United States (Congress) or the Soviet Union (Stalin)—would tolerate interference in their national affairs or their international spheres by any combination of outside powers.

Consequently, since power was to rest with those who already possess it, all important decisions of the Security Council were to require a unanimous vote of the Big Five. By the Soviet interpretation, the right of any of these powers to veto action should extend even to a decision as to whether a matter should be discussed by the Security Council. When the U.S.S.R. stuck long and fast to this tenet, conference morale sagged visibly. After a week, an appeal to Stalin brought a concession: What shall be discussed in the Security Council will not be subject to veto—though any one of the Big Five may still veto even a formal “investigation” of any matter that gets as far as the “discussion” stage.

*Concession  
by the  
U.S.S.R.*

Thus, for example, any threatening situation in an area of special interest to any one of the Big Five can be barred from Assembly or Security Council investigation or action by the negative vote of that power.

With this small victory, the “Little 45” led by Australia’s indefatigable stormy petrel, Foreign Minister Herbert Vere Evatt, set out to batter down Big Five unanimity—or veto power—even farther, but without success, for this time Britain and the United States backed the Soviet position.

*Small  
victory.*

*Regional  
security.*

Early in the conference, the role of regional security agreements came up for discussion. Were they to be superseded or invalidated by the world security arrangements? The Soviet Union—linked by mutual assistance pacts (against any future German aggression) with Czechoslovakia, France, Yugoslavia, and the transitory Provisional Government of Poland—maintained that these regional schemes were outside and unaffected by the new world agency. The Latin-American bloc—signatory, with the U. S., to the Chapultepec pact—took an identical position.

Shadowing this discussion was a fear of the emergence of regional blocs with potentially dangerous implications for world security if arrangements within such spheres remained outside the jurisdiction of the world organization.

*Bilateral  
pacts.*

This issue was resolved by amending the charter to permit the operation of bilateral pacts in the absence of, or prior to, Security Council steps to maintain or restore peace. As a result, the United States has proposed a series of bilateral treaties with Latin-American countries (to supersede the Mexico City multilateral security agreement) to make the Western Hemisphere arrangements parallel those signed by the Soviet Union.

But not all of the victories—or squabbles—were in the Big Five camp.

*Use of  
military  
forces.*

On the question of using the military forces of member nations, Canada emerged with a victory for its view that nations whose military forces are to be used to pre-

vent or repel aggression should have a vote in the Security Council on such decisions. Thus, it was decided, there will be "no taxation without representation."

The smaller powers also obtained approval for the revision of the charter, at some future date. After ten years a simple majority of the Assembly, plus any seven members of the eleven-member Security Council, can convene a constitutional convention. To accomplish this before that period has elapsed, the Assembly must marshal a two-thirds majority, and the Big Five must unanimously participate in the Security Council majority vote.

*Charter  
revision  
arrange-  
ment.*

It was at the insistence of the smaller states that specific references to respect for international law, justice, and the basic human rights were written into the charter at several important points.

*Basic  
human  
rights.*

The principle that members may be expelled from the world organization was amended to provide "suspension" as a severest penalty (short of the application of economic sanctions and punishment) and one believed to be equally serious and less likely to encourage disintegration of the security group than expulsion.

*Penalty of  
"suspension."*

Australia insisted upon and won inclusion of "full employment" in the statement of purposes of the Economic and Social Council. With the added support of Ecuador, Egypt, Cuba, and Venezuela, Prime Minister Evatt labored to strengthen this agency of the security organization far beyond the amorphous role it was given in the Dumbarton Oaks charter.

*"Full  
employ-  
ment."*

*Authors  
of charter.*

Thus, in the last two months, the formal document which is to guide and circumscribe the activities of the new world organization has taken form—word by word, phrase by phrase, and chapter by chapter. Its authors have been linguists, document technicians, international lawyers, politicians, and diplomats. Merely the preparation of the finished document in the four official languages of the conference is a labor of more than a week.

*Ratifica-  
tion re-  
quirements.*

From San Francisco, however, the charter must travel—after many additional translations—to the capitals of 50 nations, there to be submitted to public discussion and comment, but more importantly, to the critical and sometimes skeptical eye and hand of the members of national legislatures. The charter will become effective only when ratified by all of the Big Five and a majority of the Little 45.

The two key nations in charter ratification are the Soviet Union and the United States. The U.S.S.R. was studiously ignored by the old League until 1934, then accepted into membership only to be expelled in 1939. The United States as studiously held aloof from the League after it was created along patterns laid out by President Wilson.

The charter will probably be approved, in the U.S.S.R., by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet rather than by the Supreme Soviet itself, and quick approval may be expected in view of the constant referral of questions to

Moscow throughout the conference. Presumably all objections have been channeled back to San Francisco.

The prospect for ratification in the United States is excellent. And, there is a bare possibility that the charter may be approved—as requested—before the July meeting of Truman, Churchill, and Stalin. Certainly congressional approval before that date would strengthen the hand of the U. S. President in his first meeting with the other chiefs of state.

*Probable  
early con-  
gressional  
approval.*

Day-to-day events of the conference not only have strengthened the prospect of decisive ratification of the charter by the U. S. Senate but also have made it unlikely that there will be any reservations to American membership in the United Nations. This is the judgment of the seven-member United States delegation.

The Senate cannot amend the charter in the process of ratification without such changes being resubmitted to and approved by the other members of the Big Five and a majority of the other nations. The Administration will oppose amendments and will be backed by every member of the U. S. delegation, Republican and Democrat alike. Conceivably, there could be Senate reservations—in effect, interpretations of how the U. S. construes certain commitments—and such interpretations would not require charter renegotiation.

*Reservations  
or  
amendments  
unlikely.*

The American delegation now believes that no amendments will be successful in the Senate, and that no reservations will be needed, for three reasons:



*Bipartisan  
approach.*

(1) The political errors of Versailles were not repeated at San Francisco. Even with Congress already slipping from his control, President Wilson did not take with him to Paris any representative of Congress. This time the whole Administration approach has been bipartisan and pro-Congress. President Roosevelt appointed a delegation which, because of the absence of Cordell Hull, has been Republican-dominated, four-to-three. President Truman has given it the fullest latitude and support.

*Four of  
seven dele-  
gates from  
Congress.*

(2) Four of the seven delegates are members of Congress—Senators Connally and Vandenberg, and Representatives Bloom and Eaton. Since the delegation acted as a unit on majority vote, the congressional members had control of the American policy, and no provision went into the charter on which Connally and Vandenberg did not weigh senatorial opinion carefully.

*Charter  
looks to  
peaceful  
change.*

(3) The one amendment which the middle-road co-operationists, like Vandenberg, considered essential to assure Senate ratification has been adopted by the conference. This is Vandenberg's own proposal that the 50-nation general Assembly be empowered to investigate and recommend corrective measures with respect to "any situations, regardless of their origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare." This is assurance that the charter is not designed merely to defend the status quo, but looks toward peaceful change in a dynamic world.

(4) The voting procedure of the Security Council provides that the organization cannot use armed force without the approval of each of the five permanent members—thus, the United States cannot be voted into war without its consent. *Consent required for use of armed force.*

While ratification may be rapid—with enough signatures to put the new world agency on its feet within six months—there are many immediate tasks which will be taken on by an interim authority.

Adjournment of the official conference is to be followed by a meeting of a proposed interim commission made up of representatives of each of the 50 attending nations. This commission will then appoint an Executive Committee to look after interim business, which will have headquarters in London. *Interim commission.*

Among the jobs this committee must essay are these:

(1) Choosing a site for the new world organization's headquarters. The betting is that none of the Big Five will be selected, and that in all probability a "free zone" will be created in some small European country.

(2) Drawing up of specific techniques for choosing personnel and working out the mechanics of the new organization's meetings and operations. *Immediate tasks.*

(3) Fixing the budget of the United Nations and its allocation among member states.

(4) Arranging a dignified burial for the League of Nations, at the same time picking up the threads of going functions of the old League.

Meanwhile, such groups as the International Labour Office, a part of the League, may meet and propose methods for placing themselves under the Economic and Social Council. The Pan-American Union may make similar arrangements.

*Inter-  
national  
health.*

At the urging of the Economic and Social Council, the Executive Committee in London may draw plans for, and convene, international conferences on topics which are particularly urgent in the aftermath of war. One of these would be concerned with health, and drawing together of the scattered agencies dealing with narcotics, epidemic diseases, and malarial controls, and setting international health standards.

*Commercial  
policy.*

Another, and by far the leading interest of the Economic and Social Council, would be the proposed conference on commercial policy—dealing not only with reduction of the barriers to trade envisaged in Article VII of the lend-lease charter and in the United Nations (Atlantic) Charter, but also with cartel policing and study and planning of intergovernment agreements on production, distribution, and pricing of primary commodities.

*Provisions  
of  
charter.*

Thus within the framework of the charter drafted at San Francisco the United Nations have provided mechanisms for preservation of peace through discussion and, failing that, through forceful intervention; for studying and recommending measures for increasing human welfare—by economic and other devices; for the adjudica-

tion of legal disputes between nations in the International Court of Justice; and for bringing most other international problems under the watchful eye of an organization with worldwide membership.

The United Nations is, on paper, the hope of the world. It is also nothing more than a hope until the paper work at San Francisco is tested by the clash of national interests that lies inevitably ahead.

*United Nations the hope of the world.*

[June 28, 1945. Luzon, largest island in the Philippines is liberated. July 29. Four Japanese naval bases are fired by 500 Superfortresses. June 30. American troops occupy Kume Island, 345 miles from the China coast. July 1. Australian troops land at Balikpapan, East Netherlands Borneo oil center. July 2. From 550 to 600 B-29's rain bombs on Honshu and Kyushu cities. July 5. General MacArthur announces liberation of the Philippines. July 10. Australians capture Balikpapan refineries and control of Balikpapan Bay. July 17. President Truman, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill open Potsdam Conference. Task Force of British Pacific Fleet joins United States Third Fleet in major action in the Pacific. Superfortress-bombardment of Japan reaches 42nd consecutive day. July 23. United States destroyers smash convoy in Toyko waters. The trial of Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain for treason opens in Paris. July 24. Age-service point system for release of Navy personnel is announced. July 26. The British Labor Party decisively defeats the

*Big Three Conference opens at Potsdam.*

*Great Brit-  
ain elects a  
Labor  
Government.*

Conservatives in Britain's first general election in ten years. Winston Churchill resigns and Clement R. Attlee becomes Prime Minister at the head of a Labor Government. July 28. The United States Senate ratifies the United Nations Security Charter by a vote of 89 to 2. In New York City a B-25 bomber crashes into the Empire State Building. August 2. Record force of 800 Marianas-based Superfortresses rains 6,000 tons of bombs on Japan. The Potsdam Conference ends. A Joint Declaration is made public outlining the decisions reached by the Big Three. August 6. The first atomic bomb is dropped by a B-29 on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Sixty per cent of the city is wiped out. August 9. Soviet Russia declares war on Japan. Red Army forces invade Manchuria. Nagasaki, Japan, is the target of a second atomic bomb.]

## THE ATOMIC AGE

(A.D. 1945)

THINGS will never be the same again. The trite phrase of optimistic lovers and of the bereaved suddenly became true last week for all the world—in a blinding flash twelve times as bright as the sun. The atomic bomb that wiped out a great part of Hiroshima terrified scores of millions, awed hundreds of millions more, and aroused both fear and awe in the breasts of scientists and statesmen. It was these last who realized most fully the significance of the bomb of atomic power.

*Fear  
and awe  
aroused.*

“A weapon has been developed that is potentially destructive beyond the wildest nightmares,” said the report of the men who had developed it; “a weapon so ideally suited to sudden unannounced attack that a country’s major cities might be destroyed overnight by an ostensibly friendly power.”

Sen. Warren G. Magnuson of Washington voiced what promises to be the opinion of many men in government: “It is obvious that the atomic bomb has not only revolutionized warfare, but has blasted all the notions

*Warfare  
revolution-  
ized.*

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*True world  
democracy  
or a Third  
World War.*

we had only a few weeks ago about peace and security under the United Nations Charter . . . Either we must persuade all other powers . . . to institute true and universal democratic rights, or we must at once begin the race to win the Third World War—the war that would destroy every building above the surface of the earth and put us all into caves. Free people don't want wars. If they know what is going on and have the power, they will make their governments behave."

Back in 1940 when such things could still be freely discussed, a famous scientist explained how atomic power works, in these words:

*How atomic  
power  
works.*

"Suppose you have a pile of bricks. You hit an ordinary brick with a hammer, and you'll probably get two or three big pieces of brick. To break the rest of the bricks, you have to hit each separate one with your hammer. That's how ordinary atoms behave.

"But imagine hitting one brick with your hammer, and having it magically produce three or four other hammers which automatically strike the nearby bricks, breaking them. This is the kind of a chainlike reaction produced by U235."

*Make-up  
of atomic  
bomb.*

Over Hiroshima on Aug. 6, and three days later over Nagasaki, that is what happened to small quantities of unstable metallic elements—perhaps plutonium (P239) as well as U235. The U235 was contained in a bomblike device equipped to prevent premature explosion, fitted with a primer for triggering off the atomic blast at the

right moment. It produced an explosion so furious the English language has no words to describe it.

U<sub>235</sub> is one of the three physical forms of the element *Physical forms of uranium.* uranium, famous in pre-war days as the parent element of radium. Ordinary metallic uranium is usually a mixture of the three forms. Most uranium is U<sub>238</sub> (the number means that each atom weighs 238 times as much as a hydrogen atom). The other kinds of uranium are U<sub>235</sub> and U<sub>234</sub>.

U<sub>235</sub> is the form that has the important faculty of splitting when an atomic particle known as a neutron strikes it and lodges within it. Lots of other atoms break *Power set off by a neutron.* when struck by neutrons, too, but U<sub>235</sub>, in breaking, gives off more neutrons, scattering them in all directions to break up more atoms, thus releasing more neutrons. Consequently, a single starting neutron can set off a whole mass of U<sub>235</sub> and thus release enormous quantities of power. If the power is released quickly enough, the explosion is something like 2,000,000 times as great as that of a similar amount of TNT.

The problem of the physicists was to separate this U<sub>235</sub> out of the metallic uranium. This was no easy task—in fact it cost \$2,000,000,000 to set up the factories needed to do it.

For every atom of U<sub>235</sub> in metallic uranium there are *U<sub>235</sub> and U<sub>238</sub>.* 140 atoms of ordinary U<sub>238</sub>. Chemically both kinds of atoms behave alike. Physically they are almost alike, too. Only the slight difference in weight—a matter of only



one part in 80—provides the “handle” by which the physicists can get hold of the rare  $U_{235}$  atoms and pull them out of the mass in which they are hidden.

*“Manhattan Project.”* How they do it is the No. 1 secret of the war, known to only a few men in the “Manhattan Project.” It represents the combined skill and science of thousands of technical men and is one of the great American miracles of wartime cooperation, planning, and production.

The producers of the atomic bomb began their work on a foundation of discovery which, like a complicated jigsaw puzzle, brought together pieces from many countries and many laboratories.

*First clue in radium.* It all began with Marie and Pierre Curie, and their discovery of radium in 1898. This unstable element, which explodes spontaneously, atom by atom, provided the first clue to the structure of the atomic building blocks that make up all the substances in the universe. But it was more than three decades before sizable strides were made in splitting stable atoms.

*Electrical atom smashers.* As long as experimenters were limited to small quantities of radiations given off by radium, they were hampered in smashing atoms on a scale that would yield full knowledge of their structure. Finally, in the '30s, powerful electrical atom smashers were invented by several physicists. They included the electrostatic machine developed by R. J. Van de Graaff at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the electrostatic generator built at the Carnegie Institution of Washington by Drs. M. A.

Tuве, L. R. Hafstad, and O. Dahl, and the huge, pear-shaped atom smasher at the Westinghouse Laboratories at East Pittsburgh, Pa., used by the Westinghouse physicist, Dr. E. U. Condon, and his associates.

Most powerful of all the atom smashers was the cyclotron invented by Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence of the University of California at Berkeley. The last in a series of ever-larger Lawrence cyclotrons weighs 225 tons and produces 100,000,000 volts. *225-ton cyclotron.*

But, despite all the atom splitting that was done with these huge machines, none of the experiments produced a method of splitting one atom in such a way as to cause it to split other atoms. The discovery of the highly important chain reaction of  $U_{235}$  was made in Germany with very modest equipment. In fact, it doesn't require an atom smasher at all to smash  $U_{235}$ ; it only needs a few slow-moving neutrons, which can be created readily by mixing powdered beryllium with a little radium and passing the beam of high-speed neutrons thus produced through a wafer of paraffin to slow them down.

This discovery was made late in 1938, when two German scientists, Drs. Otto Hahn and F. Strassmann noted that uranium disintegrated when bombarded with slow neutrons. Two associates, Dr. Lise Meitner, an Austrian woman physicist, and Dr. O. Frisch, both of whom later fled Nazi Germany, properly interpreted the action as a splitting (also called "fission") of the  $U_{235}$  atom into *First splitting of  $U_{235}$ .*

the simpler elements barium and krypton, with emission of more neutrons and generation of enormous power.

*International race  
for atomic  
power.*

Physicists all over the world instantly grasped the significance of this discovery. The international race for the conquest of atomic power was suddenly on—a struggle which, with the nations heading into a catastrophic war, was rightly interpreted as a race for world military domination. For the first country to solve the problem would have a weapon to rule the world—constructively or destructively. The Anglo-Americans won.

[August 10, 1945. Japan offers to surrender. August 11. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, on behalf of the Allied nations, replies to the Japanese surrender offer. August 14. Japan agrees to surrender unconditionally. General Douglas MacArthur is appointed Supreme Allied Commander to receive the Japanese surrender. August 15. Marshal Pétain is found guilty of treason. August 20. Vidkun Quisling, Norway's traitor, goes on trial. August 24. The United States terminates Lend-Lease aid to other nations. August 26. A 30-year agreement of alliance and friendship between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Republic headed by Chiang Kai-shek is made public. August 28. First United States soldiers, mostly technicians, land in Japan. August 30. General MacArthur and American occupation troops land at Atsugi Airfield. September 2. Formal surrender of Japan takes place aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay.]

# THE "RISING SUN" SETS

(A.D. 1945)

FRANK W. PRICE

IN THE early morning hours of August 10, the news for which America had long been waiting was sent over the air. Japan had offered to surrender. The flash precipitated innumerable rumors, conjectures, contradictions and premature celebrations. But, as the day grew older, the story began to take a more substantial form. From the White House came official confirmation that the Japanese had decided they had had enough and offered to lay down their arms according to the terms outlined at Potsdam by President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee and Premier Stalin. *Japanese surrender offer.*

There was only one reservation made by the Japanese Government, and that was the retention of Hirohito as Emperor. The note, transmitted through the Swiss Government, as intermediary, had much to say about the Emperor's anxiety to "enhance the cause of world peace" and his desire to "bring about a speedy termination of hostilities with a view to saving mankind from the calamities to be imposed upon them by a further con- *Only one reservation.*

*Wish  
to keep  
Hirohito.*

tinuation of the war." But the salient point was that the Japanese would quit provided they were permitted to keep Hirohito as ruler.

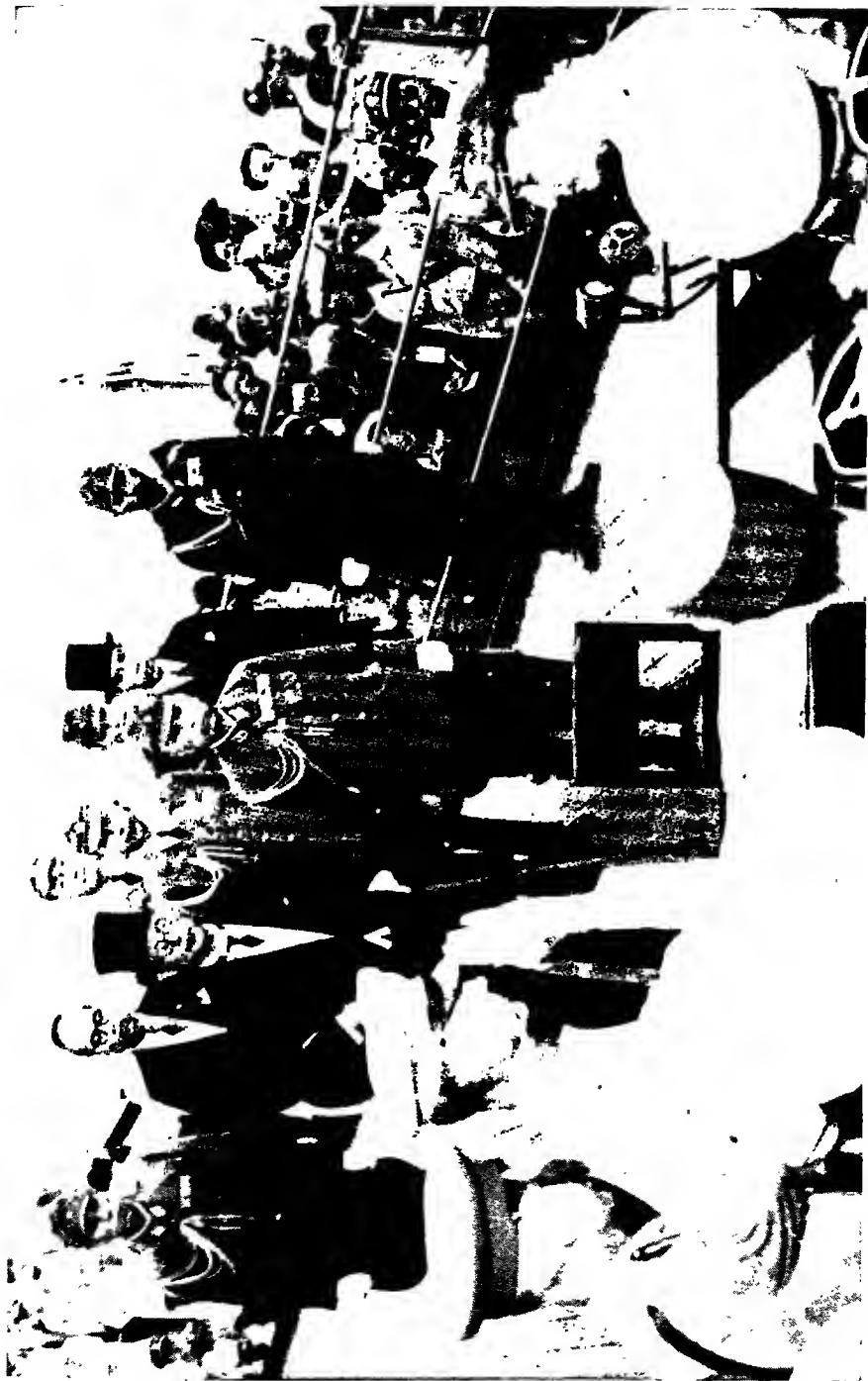
*American  
reactions.*

A twenty-four hour pause followed during which Washington was officially silent as the heads of the governments in Britain, Russia and China were consulted. A cross section of American public opinion revealed natural reactions. There were those who thought that "unconditional surrender" should mean precisely what that terminology implied and that the Japanese should not be granted any provisos. Others felt even more strongly and classified Hirohito as a war criminal who should be arrested and tried as such. There were the many thousands, with sons and daughters in the service, who believed that the granting of the concession was a small price to pay for the lives that would be saved by stopping the war before beachheads had to be established on the shores of Honshu.

*Allied  
reply to  
Japan.*

The prayers of the latter group were answered at 10:30 A.M., August 11, when Secretary of State James F. Byrnes made public the reply of the United States, Britain, Russia and China to the Japanese Government. Regarding the controversial point it had this to say:

"With regard to the Japanese Government's message accepting the terms of the Potsdam Proclamation but containing the statement 'with the understanding that the said declaration does not comprise any demand



THE FORMAL SURRENDER OF JAPAN, SEPTEMBER 2, 1945 (Tokyo Time). SCENE ABOARD THE U.S.S. MISSOURI IN TOKYO BAY JUST BEFORE GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR SIGNED THE SURRENDER DOCUMENTS (Page 414)

FROM AN INTERNATIONAL NEWS PHOTOGRAPH



which prejudices the prerogatives of his Majesty as a sovereign ruler,' our position is as follows:

"From the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate the surrender terms.

*Authority  
of Allied  
Supreme  
Commander.*

"The Emperor will be required to authorize and insure the signature by the Government of Japan and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters of the surrender terms necessary to carry out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration, and shall issue his commands to all the Japanese military, naval and air authorities and to all of the forces under their control wherever located to cease active operations and to surrender their arms, and to issue such other orders as the Supreme Commander may require to give effect to the surrender terms."

Simultaneously with the publication of the Allied reply came the announcement that General Douglas MacArthur had been designated as the Supreme Allied Commander in complete charge of the Japanese capitulation. The selection of MacArthur was acclaimed throughout the nation. Since that day early in 1942 when he had, by a Presidential directive, left the remnants of a defeated army on Corregidor and had flown to Australia, his record had been brilliant. The long trail back through New Guinea, the Solomons, the Gilberts,

*General  
MacArthur  
in complete  
charge.*



*Logical  
choice.*

the Marshalls, the Marianas, the Philippines, and the Ryukyus had been accomplished in record time and without a set-back. General MacArthur's long association with Far Eastern problems and his reputation as a stern disciplinarian made him a logical choice for his latest assignment.

*Japan  
accepts  
terms.*

For three days following the dispatch of the note to Japan, nothing was heard from the enemy. In America impatience was general. There had been a national acceptance of the idea that the war was over and speculation was rife over the possibilities of more Japanese treachery. Then, on August 14, the note came from Japan which announced accord with the terms in the Byrnes message and America knew that the war was over.

*First  
surrender  
delegation.*

General MacArthur and his staff began working out the routine of surrender. As an initial step Japan was to send her surrender envoys to the island of Ie Shima in two planes painted white with green crosses. From Ie Shima they were to be taken to Manila in a U. S. Army transport plane where they were to be told what preparations the homeland was to make prior to American occupation. The Japanese delegation arrived at Ie on August 19 and within a few hours was on its way to Manila. At the Philippine capital they were received with frigid military formality and given the details of the surrender protocol. The Japanese left Manila on August 20 for Tokyo.

Meanwhile, from a military and naval standpoint events were rapidly progressing. To convince his far-flung legions that Japan was a defeated nation and that her armies should lay down their arms, Hirohito sent out special ambassadors. So that the word of the Emperor would be obeyed, only men of royal extraction were selected for the purpose. Off to Manchuria, China, the once great bastion of Truk, the Netherlands Indies, Malaya, the by-passed islands of the Solomons and the isolated regions of New Guinea went the royal princes with the message that Japan's dream of a great Asiatic Empire was ended.

*Royal  
princes  
carry news  
of defeat.*

Off the Japanese coast Admiral William F. Halsey began assembling the ships of the Third Fleet which had contributed so decisively to the crushing of Japan. By August 26 they had steamed into Sagami Bay, just south of Tokyo, where they anchored while mine-clearing operations were conducted in Tokyo Bay itself. On August 28 the fleet began its cautious entry into Tokyo Bay. The *Missouri*, the 55,000-ton super-dreadnaught, and Admiral Halsey's flagship, the *Iowa*, a sister ship, and the *South Dakota*, of Guadalcanal fame, led the flotilla. To the *Missouri* had been delegated the stellar role in the surrender ceremonies. It was aboard her that the Japanese were to sign the articles of surrender. On the same day the first of the occupation troops landed on Atsugi airfield, 14 miles south of Tokyo. These units were composed mostly of officers and technicians whose

*Third  
Fleet  
assembles.*

*First  
occupation  
troops.*

assignment was to prepare the landing strips for the coming airborne legions.

*Scene  
at Atsugi.*

The scene at Atsugi on August 28 provided a study in strange contrasts. The Americans were grim, business-like and dressed in work clothes. The Japanese welcoming committee was resplendent in full dress uniforms with clanking Samurai swords. For the harsh realities of defeat they had substituted a festive air. But overhead, in the swarms of American fighter planes hovering in protective fashion over the handful of Americans, the beaten enemy had the true answer.

*Aboard  
the  
Missouri.*

Four days later the final chapter of the Japanese surrender was written aboard the *Missouri*. At 7:55 P.M., September 1 (8:55 A.M., September 2, Tokyo time), the Japanese surrender delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, boarded the *Missouri* and was escorted to the veranda deck where General MacArthur and his aides were waiting. After a brief introductory address by MacArthur the signing of the documents was begun.

*Surrender  
documents  
are signed.*

There were two copies, one bound in gold for the victors, and the other appropriately bound in black for the vanquished. The first to sign were Shigemitsu and General Yoshijiro Umezu of the Imperial General Staff. Then MacArthur, using five different pens, affixed his signature on behalf of the Allied Nations. Next in order were Admiral Chester Nimitz for the United States, and representatives for China, the United Kingdom, Russia,

Australia, Canada, France, the Netherlands, and New Zealand.

The proceedings lasted a mere twenty minutes. General MacArthur made a few concluding remarks, and the Japanese were on their way down the *Missouri's* ladder carrying the black document to Tokyo. One phase of the signing was as dramatic as it was fitting. At MacArthur's side were Lieutenant General Jonathan M. Wainright, of Corregidor fame, and British Lieutenant General Arthur E. Percival of Singapore. Both of these soldiers had fought the hard fight and surrendered with their troops when their bastions had fallen during the lush days of Japanese victory. MacArthur's finishing touch was to take them from the prison camps in which they had been confined for over three years and place them aboard the *Missouri* to share the final hour of triumph.

*Liberated  
generals  
share hour  
of triumph.*

[September 8, 1945. Formal surrender of Japanese troops in China is signed at Nanking. The Stars and Stripes are officially raised over Tokyo. September 10. In Norway, Vidkun Quisling is found guilty of high treason and is condemned to death.]

*Quisling  
is judged  
guilty.*



## INDEX

The names of authors are printed in CAPITALS, and the titles of chapters in **bold face** type. The contribution of each author represented in the work is given immediately under the author's name.

### A

- Aachen, ii, 288; Allies take, x, 255  
*(See also Aix-la-Chapelle)*  
 Abarbanel offers ransom for Jews, iii, 288  
 Abbasides, rise of the, ii, 245  
**ABBOTT, WILLIS JOHN**  
   The Battle of Manila Bay, vii, 235  
   The Battle of Santiago, vii, 205  
 A. B. C. Powers, conference of, ix, 4  
 Abdallah, negotiates for surrender, iii, 279-282  
 Abdelaziz, conquests of, ii, 237  
 Abd-el-Aziz, viii, 147, 231  
 Abdl-el-Kader, vi, 224  
 Abderrahman, ii, 240-244  
 Abdul Aziz, viii, 233, 234  
 Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey, viii, 233, 237, 240, 241  
   deposed, viii, 243; ix, 205  
 Abercromby, General, v, 207  
 Abercromby, Sir Ralph, vi, 86, 90  
 Abillius, i, 92  
 Aboukir Bay, vi, 57  
 Abraham, i, 13, 25  
 Abrial, Jean Marie Charles, x, 61  
 Abruzzi, Duke of, vii, 266  
 Abu Bekr, ii, 210, 214  
 Abu Talib, ii, 209  
 Abyssinia (Ethiopia), Christian Empire of, iii, 90  
   Italian aggression in, vii, 151-158; ix, 297-306  
   appeals to League of Nations, ix, 295  
*(See also Haile Selassie)*  
 Accad, i, 23, 29  
 Ace, in aviation, ix, 251; x, 281  
 Achaia, ii, 36, 43  
 Achean captives, ii, 38  
 Achean League, i, 331; ii, 36, 37, 40  
 Achceans, join Rome, ii, 22  
   break with Rome, ii, 39  
 Achmet III., vi, 50  
 Acosta, Bert, ix, 247, 256  
 Acre, capture of, ii, 349-350  
   siege of, iii, 2, 74  
   capture of, iii, 6  
   capture of, by Mamelukes, iii, 74  
   the Polos visit, iii, 85  
   Bonaparte at, vi, 68-69  
   British defence of, vi, 74-77  
   besieged by Ibrahim, vi, 230  
 Acron and Romulus, combat of, i, 93  
 Act of Uniformity, iv, 207  
 Actium, battle of, ii, 61-64, 66  
**ADAMS, FRANCIS OTTIWELL**  
   The Opening of Japan, vi, 321  
 Adams, John Quincy, speech of, vii, 56  
   views on Pan-Americanism, viii, 212  
 Adams, Lieut. Sam, in Battle of Midway, x, 121  
 Adams, Samuel, v, 247, 256  
 Addis Ababa, ix, 258  
 Adelheid, Queen, ii, 287  
 Aden, vi, 239  
 Adenauer, Konrad, ix, 284  
 Adowa, battle of, vii, 156  
 Adrian, persecution under, ii, 112  
 Adrian VI, becomes Pope, iv, 58  
 Adrianople, Peace of, vi, 209, 210  
 Aegean Islands, x, 352  
 Aero Club of America, ix, 244  
 Aerodynamics, in aviation, ix, 249

# INDEX

- Aeronautics, air transport planes, x, 225  
 Avengers, torpedo planes, x, 258, 266, 286, 294, 295  
 Arctic airway thought feasible, ix, 229  
 B-25 bomber hits Empire State Building, x, 402  
 Blériot crosses Channel, viii, 243  
 Catalina flying boats, x, 95  
 commercial aviation, development of, ix, 251  
 dirigible *Hindenburg* burns, ix, 343-344  
 dirigible *Macon* wrecked, ix, 307  
 dirigible *Norge* crosses North Pole, ix, 237  
 dirigible *R-34* crosses Atlantic, ix, 182  
 dirigible *Shenandoah* wrecked, ix, 226  
 endurance record, ix, 256  
 first airplane loop-the-loop made, ix, 249  
 first airplane over North Pole, ix, 234, 253  
 first aviation tournament, viii, 244  
 first balloon type of aircraft, viii, 356  
 first gliding flight, viii, 364  
 first power flight, viii, 369  
 first Zeppelin flights, viii, 357-358  
 flight of Acosta and Chamberlin, ix, 256  
 flight of Balbo's air fleet, ix, 293  
 flight of *Bremen*, ix, 256  
 flight of *Graf Zeppelin*, ix, 257  
 flight of Lindbergh, ix, 243  
 flight of NC-boats, ix, 167  
 flight of *Yankee Clipper*, x, 75  
 gliders in France and Brazil, viii, 369-370  
   in war, x, 225  
 Heinkel, German plane, x, 38, 245  
 Hellcat, Navy fighter plane, x, 258, 267, 270, 280, 286  
 Helldiver, dive-bombing plane, x, 258, 279, 283  
 history and development of, viii, 355-374;  
   ix, 167-168, 179-181, 227-242, 243-255  
 Italy uses dirigibles in war, viii, 311  
 Kittyhawks, U. S. Army fighter planes, x, 95  
 Law, Ruth, record of, ix, 11-12  
 Moissant circles Statue of Liberty, viii, 278  
 nonstop Atlantic flight, ix, 179, 181, 244  
 nonstop endurance flight, ix, 256  
 notable experimenters, viii, 357-370  
 Paris-Berlin flight, viii, 374  
 Penaud plans monoplane, viii, 362  
 postal service, viii, 290  
 Aeronautics, superfortress, U. S. heavy bomber, x, 125, 128, 129, 249, 256, 312, 371, 372, 376, 386, 401, 402  
 Tomahawks, U. S. Army fighter planes, x, 95  
 transatlantic flight of Alcock and Brown, ix, 178, 179-181, 244  
 Vedrines wins Paris-Madrid air race, viii, 290  
 Wildcat, U. S. Navy fighter plane, x, 295  
 World War I's impetus to aviation, ix, 250  
 Wrights, the, viii, 231, 243, 366-369; ix, 248  
 Zeppelin flights, viii, 231, 243, 263; ix, 257  
 Zeppelin produces rigid dirigible, viii, 357  
 Zeros, Japanese fighter planes, x, 97, 118, 120, 122  
 Aetius, bravery and tactics of, ii, 175  
 Afghanistan, v, 174; vi, 239  
   invasions of, vii, 130, 144  
 African campaigns in World War II. (See Abyssinia, Algeria, Libya, North Africa, Somaliland, Tunisia, World War II)  
 Agadir, German warship at, viii, 290  
   U. S. landings at, x, 147  
 Agathias, i, 35  
 Age and Laws of Justinian, The, ii, 197  
 Agesilaus, i, 274  
 Agincourt, battle of, iii, 205, 207  
 Agordat, battle of, vii, 153  
 Agrarian laws, i, 235  
 Agreement of London, ix, 225  
 Agricola, ii, 130  
 Agricultural Adjustment Act, declared unconstitutional, ix, 308  
 Agriculture, early, i, 8-9  
 Agrippa, ii, 62, 63, 119  
 Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, ii, 89  
   poisons Claudius, ii, 108  
 Aguilar, Don Alfonso, iii, 347  
 Ahriman, i, 36  
 Ahura, i, 37, 38  
 Aignadel, battle of, iv, 2  
 Airborne invasion, x, 31  
   (See also Parachute troops)  
 Airfields, ix, 251  
   Atsugi, Japan, x, 408, 413, 414  
   Clark Field, Luzon, x, 313  
   Fornebø, Norway, x, 30, 31  
   Ford Island, Hawaii, x, 94, 95-97

- Airfields, Hickam Field, Hawaii, x, 94, 95, 96,  
     97  
 Kjeller, Norway, x, 38  
 Le Bourget, France, ix, 246  
 Naha airfield, Okinawa, x, 386  
 Roosevelt Field, ix, 245  
 Wheeler Field, Hawaii, x, 94, 95, 96  
     (See also Aeronautics)  
 Aistulf, attacks Rome, ii, 250  
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of, vi, 183  
     Belgians evacuate, ix, 258  
     (See also Aachen)  
 Akagi, Japanese carrier, x, 117, 123, 126  
 Akbar, character of, iv, 111, 115  
     establishes a new era, iv, 114  
     conquests of, iv, 187  
 Alaric, ii, 165  
     attacks Roman Empire, ii, 168-169  
 Alaska, purchase of, from Russia, vii, 92  
     gold discovered in, vii, 204  
     flight of *Norge* over, ix, 229, 230  
 Alaska-Canada-United States Highway, x, 149  
 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, viii, 243  
 Alba, i, 87  
 Albania, and Italy, ix, 216, 381  
 Albanians, ix, 208, 209, 212  
 Albany, settlement at, iv, 252  
*Albatross*, in Solomon Islands, viii, 278  
 Alberoni, v, 115  
 Albert I., King of Belgium, crowned, viii, 255  
     enters Brussels, ix, 95  
     death of, ix, 294  
 Albert, Prince, speech of, vi, 294-297  
 Albert of Brandenburg, iv, 87  
 Albert, the Constable d', iii, 202  
 Albert Edward Nyanza, discovered, vii, 158  
*Albert J. Grant*, destroyer, x, 277, 278, 279  
 Albert (son of Rodolph), tyranny of, iii, 91  
 Albigenes, the, iii, 33, 34, 39  
 Alboin, King of the Lombards, ii, 204  
 Alcibiades, treason of, i, 260  
 Alcmaeonids, the, i, 189  
 ALCOCK, CAPTAIN JOHN  
     The First Nonstop Flight, ix, 179  
 Alcock, Captain John, flies across Atlantic, ix,  
     178, 179-181, 244  
 Alcolea, battle of, vii, 105  
 Alemanni, invade Gaul, Spain, and Africa, ii, 142  
     driven from Gaul, ii, 168  
 Aleppo occupied by Mamelukes, iii, 74  
 Aleutian Islands, ix, 251  
 Alexander, Harold R. L. G., x, 144, 348  
 Alexander of Macedon, i, 310  
     at Arbela, i, 313, 331  
     crosses the Euphrates, i, 319  
     death of, i, 331  
     generalship of, i, 323, 331  
 Alexander of Servia, vii, 349  
 Alexander, son of Cleopatra, ii, 55  
 Alexander the Syrian, ii, 64  
 Alexander III., Pope, flight of, ii, 350  
 Alexander V., Pope, iii, 189  
 Alexander VI., Pope, iii, 308, 309, 327  
     suspends Savonarola, iii, 331  
     grants for exploration, iv, 263  
 Alexander I., czar of Russia, vi, 123, 177,  
     198  
 Alexander II., vi, 339; vii, 26  
     murdered, vii, 144  
 Alexander I, King of Yugoslavia, assassinated,  
     ix, 294-295  
 Alexandra, death of, ix, 226  
 Alexandria (Egypt), i, 311; ii, 45  
     French fleet at, vi, 57  
     endangered in World War II, x, 140, 143  
 Alexandrine War, the, ii, 51  
 Alexis, ii, 342  
 Alexius, Prince, iii, 15, 16, 18  
 Alexius Mourzoufle, becomes Emperor, iii, 19  
 Alfalfa grass, viii, 136  
 Alfonso XII. of Castile, compiles astronomical  
     tables, iii, 60  
 Alfonso XII., King of Spain, vii, 107, 129  
 Alfonso XIII., coronation of, vii, 307  
     attempted assassination of, viii, 16-17  
     marriage, viii, 200  
     forced to flee, ix, 258  
 Alfred the Great, accession of, ii, 260  
     King of Wessex, ii, 263  
 Alfric, Earl of Mercia, ii, 292  
 Alfric, the traitor, ii, 298  
 Algeciras Conference, The, viii, 147  
 Algeria, taken by French, vi, 356  
     invaded by U. S. forces, x, 135, 148  
 Algerian piracies, beginning of, iv, 26  
 Algiers, conquest of, vi, 219-230  
 Alhambra, surrender of the, iii, 281  
 Ali, Mohammed's follower, ii, 210



# INDEX

## ALISON, SIR ARCHIBALD

- The Directoire, vi, 29
- The Battle of Vittoria, vi, 141
- Alleghanies, settlements beyond, v, 177
- Allen, Lieut. Colonel Brook, x, 128, 129
- Allen, Ethan, v, 268
- ALLEN, L. G.
  - How America Went to War, ix, 15
- Allenby, General, ix, 94, 225
- Alliance of Thebes and Athens, i, 306
  - of Lübeck and Hamburg, iii, 117, 118, 121
- Allied Reparation Committee, ix, 258
- Alma, battle of the, vi, 330
- Almeida discovers Ceylon, iii, 350
- Almohades, fall of the, iii, 22
- Almonte, General, vii, 47
- Alp Arslan, conquests of, ii, 334
- Alphege, ii, 298
- Alphonso II. of Naples, iii, 309, 313
- Alps, Passage of the, vi, 85
- Alpujarras, rebellion in, iii, 345, 346
- Alsace-Lorraine, ix, 46, 88, 149, 210
  - boundaries of, ix, 119
  - restored to France, ix, 121-123
  - (See also Elsass, Lorraine)
- Altis, the, i, 78
- Altmark, incident of the, x, 29, 30
- Alva, iv, 144, 157, 158, 159, 160
- Alviano, Bartolomeo d', iv, 2
- Al Zegri, conversion of, iii, 343
- Amboise, Cardinal, iv, 1
- Ambrose, Archbishop, ii, 166
- America, transatlantic flight of, ix, 247, 248
- America, discovery of, iii, 293-303; iv, 245
- America's Greatest Naval Battle, x, 257
- American army, v, 280, 287
- American congress, first, v, 257, 260
  - second, v, 269
- American Expeditionary Force (World War I)
  - first soldiers of, killed in action, ix, 21
  - major operations of, in 1918, ix, 23-37
  - defeat Germans at Château-Thierry, ix, 23
  - advance at Soissons, ix, 24, 26
  - reduce St. Mihiel salient, ix, 29
  - takes Grandpré, ix, 32
- American Operations in France, 1918, ix, 23
- American republics, conferences of, viii, 211
  - at San Francisco Conference, x, 394, 395

- Amiens, award of, iii, 65
  - treaty of, iv, 70
  - peace of, vi, 86
- Amphibious warfare (See Invasions in World War II)
- Amphictyonic Council, the, i, 297, 301
- AMUNDSEN, CAPTAIN ROALD
  - The Conquest of the Northwest Passage, viii, 49
- Amundsen, discovers South Pole, viii, 311
  - attempts air trip to North Pole, ix, 226
  - flies over North Pole, ix, 227-241
- Anabaptists, revolt of the, iv, 87
- Anacreon, i, 185
- Anæsthetics and Antiseptics, vii, 81
- Ananda, i, 108
- Anatolia (Asia Minor), ix, 206, 209, 210, 212, 213, 384
- Anderida, fall of fortress of, ii, 189
- Andrassy, Hungarian leader, ix, 82
- André, Major, hanged, v, 294
- Andrée attempts to reach North Pole by balloon, vii, 204; ix, 229
- Andrew, King of Hungary, iii, 53
- Andriscus, ii, 39
- Angel to the Shepherds, chapel, ii, 69
- Anghiari, battle of, iii, 226
- Anglo-Japanese treaty, viii, 121, 220-224
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ii, 295, 298
- Angora, ix, 205, 207, 211-213, 215
  - (See Ankara)
- Angra Mainyu, i, 38
- Animals, first domestication of, i, 9
- Anjou, Duke of, iv, 189
- Ankara (formerly Angora), ix, 385, 392
- Anna Comnena, ii, 267, 337
- Annam, vii, 150
- Anne of Austria, iv, 309, 312
- Anne, Queen of England, v, 73-74, 89
- Anne, Czarina of Russia, v, 145
- Anschluss, Austro-German, ix, 300, 344, 345; x, 13
- Ansgar, the Apostle of the North, ii, 263
- Antarctic Continent, ix, 308
- Antarctic exploration, vi, 249
  - Shackleton's expeditions, viii, 242; ix, 11
  - Scott's expeditions, viii, 16, 46, 263
  - Amundsen reaches South Pole, viii, 311
  - Byrd's second expedition, ix, 293-294

- Antarctic exploration, Ellsworth's flight over
  - Antarctic, ix, 308
  - (See also South Pole)
- Antares* sights Japanese submarine, x, 89
- Anti-Corn Law League, vi, 234
- Antioch, battle of, ii, 147
  - capture of, ii, 344-345
  - taken by Mamelukes, iii, 74
- Antiochus III., of Syria, ii, 22
- Anti-Semitism, in England, ii, 350
  - in Spain, iii, 285-292
  - in Russia, vii, 159, 337-346
  - in Nazi Germany, ix, 280, 281, 291, 337, 345
  - (See also Jews, massacre)
- Antiseptic Surgery, vii, 80, 81, 83
- Antonias* (Cleopatra's galley), ii, 58
- Antonina, wife of Belisarius, ii, 200
- Antony, ii, 51-67
- Antwerp, sack of, iv, 161, 164
  - taken by Germans, ix, 7
  - retaken by Allies, x, 254
- Anzio, beachhead at, x, 214, 325
- Aollius, i, 92
- Apis, bull, killed by Cambyzes, i, 180
- Apollo, worship of, i, 19
  - hymn to, i, 46
- Apostle of the Indians, iv, 14
- Apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul, ii, 177-178
- Apparitions at Salamis, i, 229
- Appius Claudius, i, 239
- Appius Herdonius, i, 236
- Appomattox, Lee's surrender, vii, 80
- Apulia, Hannibal at, i, 332
  - seized, ii, 266
- Aquileia besieged by Attila, ii, 171, 173
- Aquitaine conquered by Clovis, ii, 195
- Arab Conquest of Spain, ii, 227
- Arab, tactics, ii, 219-220
- Arabi Pasha, vii, 150
- Arabian caliphs, the, ii, 217
- Arabian Empire in Spain, iii, 279, 283
- Arabs, conquest of the, ii, 225, 227-238
  - besiege Constantinople, ii, 238
  - invade France, ii, 238
  - subdue Sicily, ii, 259
  - demand autonomy, ix, 380
  - riot with Jews in Palestine, ix, 392
- Arago, vi, 274
- Arbaces the Mede, i, 73-76
- Arbela, battle of, i, 313-331
- Arbitration treaties, viii, 47, 230, 279, 290, 311, 381
- Arbues, the Inquisitor, iii, 286
- Archduke Francis Ferdinand, The, ix, 1
- ARCHER, H. G.
  - The Simplon Tunnel, viii, 73
- Arcot captured, v, 175
- Arctic exploration, discovery of North Pole, viii, 245-254
  - voyages of Peary, viii, 246-247
- Amundsen expedition, ix, 226
- Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile expedition, ix, 230
  - Byrd expedition, ix, 227
- Ardennes bulge, x, 313
- Areopagus, the, i, 115
- Arctes, i, 327
- Argentina, centenary of, viii, 263
  - admitted to United Nations, x, 389-391
- Argonaut*, U. S. submarine, lost, x, 171
- Argonne, description of, vi, 8
- Argyle, Duke of, executed (1685), iv, 329
  - Duke of, in Jacobite rebellion, v, 121-131
- Aristides, i, 217, 230
- Aristogeiton, escape of, i, 187
- Ariston, i, 326
- Aristotle, i, 35
- Arius, banishment of, ii, 158
- Arizona, admitted as 48th State, viii, 310
- Arizona*, American battleship, loss of, x, 99, 100, 104, 105, 106, 107
- Armada, the Spanish, iv, 176
- Armadas in World War II, x, 61-62, 135, 139, 147
- Armament, added to airplanes, ix, 250
  - limitation of naval (1922), ix, 191-197
- Armenia, conquered by Turks, ii, 334
  - conquered by Russia, vi, 217
- Armenians, massacre of, viii, 243
  - disappearance of, ix, 207
- Arminius, elopes with Thusnelda, ii, 79
  - battle-ground of, ii, 82
  - tactics of, ii, 84
  - attacks Varus, ii, 84-85
- Armistead, General, vii, 76
- Armistice of 1918, begins, ix, 37
  - terms signed, ix, 95
- Arms embargo, U. S. (See Neutrality Act)

# INDEX

- Army of Despair, The**, x, 65
- Army, Darius's**, i, 317
- Alexander's, i, 318
- first national standing, iii, 226
- of the Potomac, vii, 65
- of the Maes (Meuse), vii, 121
- of the Loire, vii, 124
- Arnhem (Holland) trap**, x, 254
- Arnold, Benedict**, v, 268, 283, 289
- ARNOLD, MARGUERITE**
- Elegy for Ataturk, ix, 383
- ARNOLD, THOMAS**
- Expulsion of the Tarquins, i, 195
- Arnold of Brescia**, iii, 131
- Arques, battle of**, iv, 198
- Arrabbiati, the**, iii, 331
- Arrazola**, vii, 94
- Arruntius**, ii, 64
- Artaphernes**, i, 193, 211
- Artaxerxes**, i, 269, 271; ii, 142
- Artillery, first used**, iii, 124
- Aruns of Clusium**, i, 285
- combat with Brutus, i, 202
- Arzema dethroned**, ii, 219
- Ascalon, attack on Crusaders at**, ii, 348
- rebuilt, iii, 7
- Asia**, ii, 44; x, 79, 382
- Asia Minor**, ii, 50, 204; ix, 207
- conquered by Turks, ii, 334
- (See also Anatolia)
- Askold**, ii, 273
- Aspern, battle of**, vi, 117
- Asquith, Herbert H.**, resigns, ix, 12
- Assassination of President McKinley**, vii, 281
- Assassins, the (of Persia)**, iii, 60
- during the Terror, vi, 16, 19
- Assembly of the People**, ii, 46
- Asshur-edil-ilani, II**, i, 72
- Asshurlikhish**, i, 73
- Assize of Jerusalem**, ii, 349
- Assouan Dam**, vii, 280
- Assyria**, i, 19, 24, 53, 76; ii, 221
- (See also Iraq)
- Assyrian Empire**, i, 71, 125, 128
- Astronomical Tables**, iii, 60
- Astronomy**, i, 28
- Astyages**, i, 135, 139
- At the South Pole**, viii, 313
- Atabualpa, the last Inca**, iv, 17
- Ataturk, Kemal (See Kemal, Mustapha)**
- Atella, French capitulate at**, iii, 316
- Athenian liberty**, i, 192
- army at Marathon, i, 213-214
- commanders, the, i, 213
- aggression and oppression, i, 254
- fleet, i, 259, 300
- generals, i, 259-260
- army, defeat of, i, 266, 308
- Athens, rise of**, i, 57
- insurrection in, i, 109
- factions at, i, 191
- revolutions at, i, 192
- makes peace with Sparta, i, 232
- yields to Sparta, i, 244
- confederacy against, i, 256, 257
- plague at, i, 257
- sends second fleet to Syracuse, i, 263
- subdued by Macedonians, i, 331
- taken by Mohammed II, iii, 254
- (See also Greece)
- Atlantic cable**, vii, 84
- Atlantic Charter**, x, 85, 362, 400
- Atlantic first crossed by steamships**, vi, 300
- Atlantic wall**, x, 216, 217, 225
- Atmospheric engine, the**, v, 229
- Atomic Age, The**, x, 403
- Atomic bomb, dropped on Hiroshima**, x, 402, 403, 404
- dropped on Nagasaki, x, 402, 404
- make-up of, 404-406
- research for development of the, x, 406-408
- importance of the, x, 403, 408
- Attalus III**, ii, 44
- Attica, invasion of**, i, 189
- Attila**, ii, 166, 171-179
- invades Gaul and Italy, ii, 169
- besieges Aquileia, ii, 172
- conquests of, ii, 173
- unknowingly founds Venice, ii, 174-175
- receives Roman ambassadors, ii, 177
- marriage and death of, ii, 178
- Attlee, Clement R.**, British Prime Minister, x, 402, 409
- Auchinleck, General Claude**, x, 142, 144
- Auerstadt, battle of**, vi, 115
- Augsburg, Diet of**, iv, 35
- Augury**, i, 88
- Augustin Friars founded**, iii, 60

Augustine, St., ü, 165  
 Augustus, despair of, ii, 89  
 Augustus II., King of Poland, v, 165  
 Augustus III., King of Poland, v, 165  
 Aulus Postumius, i, 205-208  
 Aumale, Duke of, vi, 229  
 Aurelian, Emperor of Rome, ü, 117  
   successes of, ii, 142  
   attacks Zenobia, ii, 143  
   takes Palmyra, ü, 147  
   captures Zenobia, ii, 149  
   triumph of, ii, 150  
 Aurungzebe, iv, 329; v, 89  
 Austerlitz, battle of, vi, 113  
 Australia, v, 221; ix, 68, 185, 251  
   new constitution in, ix, 294  
   at San Francisco Conference, x, 393, 395  
   representative at Japanese surrender, x, 415  
 Australians in World War II, x, 386, 401  
 Austria, ix, 40, 60, 68  
   invaded by Soliman, iv, 75  
   House of, iv, 321; vi, 46  
   overruns Venetia, vi, 52  
   in Italy, vi, 190  
   reduces Naples and Sicily, vi, 194  
   gains Cracow, vi, 258  
   revolution (1848) in, vi, 278  
   and Italy, vi, 282; vii, 13  
   and Piedmont declare war, vii, 11  
   history of, ix, 80-81  
   Chancellor Dollfuss assassinated, ix, 294  
   relations of, and Germany, ix, 315-316, 318,  
     351  
   annexed by Germany, ix, 344  
   Poland's fear of, x, 13  
   Germans surrender in, x, 347  
 Austria-Hungary, ix, 21, 95  
   annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina, viii, 241  
   declares war on Serbia, ix, 5, 114  
   declares war on Russia, ix, 6  
   at war with Rumania, ix, 11  
   Charles I., succeeds Francis Joseph, ix, 12  
   start of Dual Monarchy in, ix, 81  
   and Yugoslavia, ix, 67-73  
   and Czechoslovakia, ix, 80-90, 351  
   need for break-up of, ix, 72, 73, 85, 86  
 Austrians invade Bavaria, vi, 108  
 Austro-Russian Attack on Turkey, The, v,

Auto-da-fé, the first, iii, 268  
 Automobile, The, vii, 301  
 Avars, the, ii, 269  
 Aventine, Mount, i, 88  
 Aventine, Hill, the, i, 236, 240  
 Aviation, (See Aeronautics)  
 Avicenus, character of, ü, 176  
 Avignon, seat of the Papacy, iii, 90  
 Axis, anti-Comintern, x, 24, 25, 26  
   Berlin Mutual assistance pact of, x, 75  
 Aylesford, victory of, ü, 186  
 Azaña, Manuel, President of Spain, ix, 308, 312  
 Azores, ix, 112, 169  
 Aztecs, the, iv, 15

## B

Baalazar, II., i, 53  
 Babel, i, 29  
 Baber, founds Empire of Great Moguls, iv, 87  
   takes Bengal, iv, 87  
 Babington, Anthony, iv, 174  
 Babylon, temples of, i, 26, 30  
   vastness and strength of, i, 163, 170  
   Daniel interprets writing, i, 165-167  
   destruction of, i, 171  
   Alexander enters, i, 330  
 Badoglio, Pietro, x, 182  
 Bagration, General, vi, 124, 126  
 Bahar, conquered by Akbar, iv, 187  
 Baker, Sir Benjamin, vii, 331  
 Baku oil fields, German pincers drive toward,  
   x, 140, 142  
 Bakutis, Commander Frederick E., air search  
   mission of, x, 270  
 Balaklava, position of, vi, 330  
   battle of, vi, 333  
 Balbo, Italo, mass flight of, ix, 293  
 Balchen, Bernt, on Byrd Expedition, ix, 247  
 Baldwin, Count of Flanders, iii, 21  
 Baldwin, Stanley, British Prime Minister, ix,  
   307  
   on marriage of Edward VIII, ix, 330, 331  
   resigns, ix, 344  
 Balearic Islands, ü, 4  
 Balfour, resignation of, vii, 127  
 Balfour Treaty, abrogation of demanded, ix,  
   380  
 Balik Papan, Borneo oil center, captured, x, 401

# INDEX

- Balkan States, ix, 40, 46-47, 60, 82, 87; x, 147  
 against Turkey, viii, 321, 374, 379; ix, 203  
 mutual aid, pact of, viii, 375-378  
 race groups in, ix, 67, 68  
 Italy unsuccessful in, ix, 299  
 German desire to dominate, ix, 314, 315,  
 340, 353, 354; x, 25  
 Balkan Wars, viii, 379-381; ix, 3, 70, 71  
 Ballot, the, vii, 129  
 Balthasar (Belshazzar), feast of, i, 164-167  
 Baltic Canal, vii, 179  
 Baltic States, x, 21  
   non-aggression pacts with Russia, ix, 294  
   join Soviet Russia, x, 75  
 Baltimore, Lord, iv, 293  
 Baltimore conflagration, viii, 16  
 Band, the Sacred, i, 308  
 Bank of England, the, v, 66, 135  
 Bank Holiday in U. S., ix, 292  
 Bannerets, the, iii, 135  
 Bannockburn, iii, 99  
 Bannockburn, battle of, iii, 99-112  
   English losses at, iii, 110  
 Baratieri, General, vii, 154  
 Barbarians, conversion of the, ii, 166  
   Attila's, ii, 171, 175  
 Barbaric invasions of the Fourth Century, ii,  
 269  
 Barbarossa, Frederick. (*See* Frederick Bar-  
 barossa)  
 Barbarossa, Hayraddin, iv, 26  
 Barbary fleet, destruction of the, iv, 316  
 Barbury Hill, battle at, ii, 191  
 Barca, vi, 247  
 Barcelona, bomb at, viii, 121  
 Barclay, General, vi, 124, 127  
 Bar-cochba, the impostor, ii, 112  
 Bar-Giora, ii, 122  
 BARKER J. ELLIS  
   Revolution in China, viii, 293  
 Barnabites, the, iv, 101  
 Barnet, battle of, iii, 254  
 Baron, the feudal, ii, 327  
 Barons, the English, meet at Brackley, iii, 47  
   appear before King John, iii, 47  
   opposition to Henry, iii, 61  
   policy of, iii, 67  
   resistance of the, iii, 72  
   victory of the, iii, 69  
 Barons' War and First English Parliament,  
   The, iii, 61  
 Barrage balloons, x, 228  
 Barras, General, vi, 39  
 Barrier Treaty, the, v, 115  
 BARRY, WILLIAM  
   Leo XIII. A Retrospect, vii, 359  
 Barthou, Jean Louis, assassination of, ix, 295  
 Basle, Council of, ii, 198  
 Bassora, foundation of, ii, 221  
 Bastille, the plan of, v, 327  
   storming of the, v, 316, 323-334  
   fall of, v, 334  
 Bataan, falls to Japanese, x, 110  
 Batavia (Java) founded, iv, 259  
 Batavian Republic, the, vi, 28  
 Bath, ii, 191  
 Battenize, Tamerlane arrives in, iii, 182  
 Battle Abbey, ii, 310  
 Battle of Actium, ii, 53  
 Battle of Agincourt, iii, 201  
 Battle of Arbela, The, i, 313  
 Battle of Blenheim, The, v, 69  
 Battle of Crécy, iii, 123  
 Battle of Elandslaagt, The, vii, 257  
 Battle of Flodden Field, iv, 19  
 Battle of Gettysburg, The, vii, 65  
 Battle of Inkerman, The, vi, 347  
 Battle of La Hogue, The, v, 55  
 Battle of Lake Erie, The, vi, 155  
 Battle of Manila Bay, The, vii, 235  
 Battle of Marathon, The, i, 211  
 Battle of Midway, x, 111, 113-132  
   first phase of, x, 113  
   Spruance carrier planes locate Jap fleet, x,  
   114-115  
   air squadrons attack, x, 116-118  
   Japanese hit and sink *Yorktown*, x, 119-120,  
   123, 130  
   U. S. planes continue attack, x, 121  
   Flying Fortresses from Oahu join battle, x,  
   122, 125, 128, 129  
   U. S. submarine sinks *Soryu*, x, 126  
   carriers pursue fleeing enemy, x, 128, 131  
   complete U. S. victory, x, 132, 300  
 Battle of Mukden, viii, 77  
 Battle of Omdurman, The, vii, 219  
 Battle of Pultowa, The, v, 91  
 Battle of St. Quentin; Loss of Calais, iv, 117

- Battle of Salamis, The, i, 221  
 Battle of Santiago, The, vii, 205  
 Battle of the Boyne, v, 29  
 Battle of the Metaurus, The, ii, 1  
 Battle of the Nile, The, vi, 57  
 Battle of the Sea of Japan, viii, 89  
 Battle of the Yalu, The, vii, 169  
 Battle of Tours, The, ii, 239  
 Battle of Trafalgar, The, vi, 105  
 Battle of Valmy, The, vi, 1  
 Battle of Vittoria, The, vi, 141  
 Battleship Row, at Pearl Harbor, x, 98, 105  
 Battleships, in World War II, x, 228, 233  
     British, x, 62  
     French, x, 148  
     German, sunk, x, 27, 39-41, 76, 312  
     Japanese, x, 117, 118, 126, 128, 263, 265,  
         271, 275, 276, 278, 287-292, 295, 298, 299  
     U. S., in action, x, 135, 229, 271, 272, 273,  
         274, 275, 277, 319  
     U. S., sunk or damaged at Pearl Harbor,  
         x, 99-105  
     U. S., in Tokyo Bay, x, 413, 414, 415  
 Battle to the Sea, x, 59  
 Bavaria, vii, 127; ix, 120, 124; x, 353  
     submits to Austrian Emperor, v, 88  
     granted a constitution, vi, 180  
     controlled by Nazis, ix, 282, 283  
     Nazis surrender in, x, 347, 351  
 Bayard, Chevalier, iv, 61  
 Bayeux tapestry, ii, 272  
 Bayezid I, ix, 205  
 Beaconsfield, Lord, vii, 132, 139, 141  
*Bear of Oakland*, Byrd's ship, ix, 293  
 Beauharnais, Eugene, vi, 89  
 Beck, Colonel, Polish Foreign Minister, x, 12,  
     15, 16, 17  
 Becket, Thomas à, murder of, ii, 350  
     offerings to shrine of, iv, 94  
 Bed of Justice, v, 269  
 Bedeau, General, vi, 315  
 "Beggars, The," iv, 156  
 Beginning of Free Trade, The, vi, 233  
 Beginning of the French Revolution, The,  
     v, 313  
 Beginnings of Russia, The, ii, 269  
 Belem, Temple of, iii, 320  
 Belgium, vi, 14, 86; vii, 144; viii, 216, 254;  
     ix, 77, 198, 328; x, 78  
 Belgium, invaded in World War I, ix, 5  
     and Treaty of Peace (1919), ix, 113, 114,  
         120-121, 144, 148, 159, 164  
     occupies Ruhr, ix, 200  
     evacuates Aix-la-Chapelle, ix, 258  
     neutrality of, guaranteed by Germany, ix,  
         344, 348  
     one of Oslo States, x, 25  
     invaded in World War II, x, 64  
     surrender of, by King Leopold, x, 60  
 Belgrade, besieged, iii, 254  
     captured, iv, 87; v, 132; vi, 120; ix, 7  
     bombaraded, ix, 5  
 Belisarius, conquests of, ii, 198-200  
     treatment of, ii, 201  
 Belleau Wood, cleared by Americans, ix, 24, 94  
 Bellinger, Lieut. Commander, NC-1, ix, 168  
 Belshazzar (*See* Balthasar)  
 Beltis, i, 27  
 Belus, i, 27  
 Benedict XV, ix, 198  
 Benes, Edouard, resists German pressure on  
     Czechoslovakia, ix, 352, 356; x, 19  
     resigns as president, ix, 362  
 Bengal, taken by Baber, iv, 87  
     wealth of, v, 201  
 Bengazi, x, 146  
 Bennett, Floyd, Byrd's pilot, ix, 232, 233, 235  
 Bennis, Captain Mervyn, at Pearl Harbor, x,  
     104  
 BENSON, ARTHUR C.  
     King Edward VII., viii, 257  
 Beotian infantry at Syracuse, i, 265  
 Berchtesgaden, conference at, ix, 345, 356  
     taken by U. S. troops, x, 351  
 Berengar, King of the Lombards, ii, 287  
 Berenice, Princess, ii, 126, 128  
 Beresford, Lord, vi, 189  
 Beresina, passage of the, vi, 136  
 Bergen, iii, 115  
 Berlin, ix, 339; x, 5  
     Academy of, founded, v, 67  
     Treaty of, vii, 141, 143; ix, 215  
     Congress of, vii, 140, 143  
     center of Nazi influence, ix, 283  
     Reichstag Building in, burns, ix, 279, 292  
     description of, ix, 333; x, 352, 354, 355  
     Russian troops enter, x, 339  
     Germans surrender in, x, 352, 354

# INDEX

- Berlin Decrees, the, vi, 115  
 Berlin-Tokyo Pact, significance of, ix, 349, 350, 366  
 Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden, vi, 107, 119, 123, 165, 170  
 Bernadotte, Count Folke, report of, on meeting with Himmler, x, 345, 353  
 Bernard of Weimar, iv, 280  
 Bernicia, the kingdom of, ii, 194  
 Berosus, i, 12, 21  
 Berry, Duke of, assassinated, vi, 185  
 Bertha, wife of Henry IV. (Germany), ii, 325  
 Berthezene, General, vi, 223  
 Berytus captured by Crusaders, ii, 350  
 Berzarin, Nikolai, forces of, occupy Berlin, x, 355  
 Bessarabia, conquered by Russia, v, 240  
     Moscow's refusal to surrender, x, 13  
     ceded to Russia, x, 74  
 Best, Lieutenant, in Battle of Midway, x, 117  
 Bethlehem (Judea), inn at, ii, 71  
 Bethlehem (Pennsylvania), v, 154  
 Betica, reduction of, ii, 233  
 Betio Island (Tarawa Atoll) location of, x, 183  
 Betio Island location of, x, 183  
     preinvasion bombardment of, x, 184  
     landings on, x, 185, 186  
     beachhead on, x, 187-190  
     airfield captured, x, 191  
 Bezetha, seized by the Romans, ii, 122  
 Beziers, capture of, iii, 36  
 Bigi, the, iii, 330  
 Bionville, battle of, vii, 121  
 BIRCHALL, FREDERICK T.  
     Four Years of Hitlerism, ix, 333  
*Birmingham*, light cruiser, x, 269  
 Bishops, first General Council of, ii, 158  
 Bismarck, Count von, vii, 118, 127, 140  
     and Austria-Hungary, ix, 71-72, 82  
 Bismarck, town of, viii, 136  
*Bismarck*, German battleship, sunk, x, 76  
 Bithyas joins Carthaginians, ii, 30  
 Bizerte, North African naval base, x, 146  
 Black Death, The, iii, 139  
 Black Death, iii, 139; iv, 60  
     march of, iii, 142  
     in Europe, iii, 144  
     duration of, iii, 145-146  
     number of victims, iii, 145  
 Black Death, effects of the, iii, 146-147  
     Boccaccio describes, iii, 150-153  
 Black Guard, the, iii, 255  
 Black Hole of Calcutta, v, 199, 202  
 Black, Lieut. Joseph C., in naval battle, x, 283  
 Black Prince, the, at Crécy, iii, 126  
     at Poitiers, iii, 160  
     in Spain, iii, 170  
 Black's theory of latent heat, v, 230  
 Black Tomb, the, ii, 271  
 Blanchard, Gen. George Maurice Jean, x, 59  
 Bleech, Lieut. (j.g.) Otto, x, 265  
 Blenheim, battle of, v, 69-88  
 Bleriot, Louis, airplane builder, viii, 373; ix, 248, 251  
 Blitzkrieg, x, 42  
     ABC of, x, 56  
 Block, Captain, iv, 249  
 Blood, Council of, iv, 157  
 Blücher, vi, 167, 169, 171  
*Blücher*, German cruiser, sunk, ix, 8  
*Blücher*, sinks in Oslo fjord, x, 39-41  
 Blum, Leon, French Premier, ix, 308, 319, 320  
     cabinet falls, ix, 344  
 Boabdil (*See* Abdallah)  
 BOAS, FRANZ  
     The Prehistoric World and Primitive Man, i, 1  
 Bobadilla, iv, 101  
 Boccaccio, quotation from, iii, 150-153  
 Bochica, i, 12  
 Boers settle in Natal, vi, 231  
     attack Mafeking, vii, 245  
 Boer War, vii, 144, 257, 265  
 Boëthus, Mathias, execution of, ii, 123  
 Bogan, Gerald F., Rear Admiral, x, 264  
 Bohemia, iii, 196  
     in Thirty Years War, iv, 269; ix, 81  
     invaded by Friedrich the Great, v, 194  
     revolution in, vi, 280, 282  
     under the Hapsburgs, ix, 80-81  
 Bohemians oppose Sigismund, iii, 196  
     rise of the, iv, 270  
     besieged by Henry I, ii, 282  
 Bohemond, ii, 338-346  
 Bohun, Sir Henry, death of, iii, 105  
 Boles, Lieut. Roger S., x, 280  
 Bolivar, Simon, vii, 377

- Bolivia, Republic of, ix, 113  
 founded, vi, 217  
 Chaco war with Paraguay, ix, 307
- Bologna, iv, 7, 76; x, 339
- Bolo Pasha, executed, ix, 92, 93
- Bolsheviks, ix, 222  
 gain control in Russia, ix, 21  
 sign Brest-Litovsk Armistice and Treaty, ix, 22, 92  
 influence of, ix, 340
- Bolshevism, Nazi propaganda about, x, 346, 347
- Bombings, in World War II  
 in Africa, x, 145  
 of Berlin, x, 214  
 at Dunkirk, x, 61, 62, 63  
 of France, x, 72  
 of Japan, x, 110, 249, 356, 386, 401, 402  
 of London, x, 75  
 of Norway, x, 38, 50, 52, 53, 54  
 of Pearl Harbor, x, 93, 94  
 of Russia, x, 78  
 of ships, x, 122, 312
- Bonaparte, Joseph, vi, 141-152
- Bonaparte, Lucien, vi, 83
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, vi, 39  
 on Charles XII, v, 97  
 invades Italy, vi, 43  
 declares war against Venice, vi, 54  
 goes to Egypt, vi, 55  
 overthrows the Directoire, vi, 69, 83  
 becomes First Consul, vi, 69, 84  
 in Egypt, vi, 71  
 at Acre, vi, 79, 80  
 returns to France, vi, 80  
 passage of the Alps, vi, 85  
 league against England, vi, 86  
 code of, vi, 87  
 hostility to England, vi, 88  
 crowned Emperor, vi, 89  
 becomes King of Italy, vi, 89  
 marches on Austria, vi, 107  
 gives away kingdoms, vi, 114  
 captures Vienna, vi, 117  
 marries Maria Louisa, vi, 118  
 empire of, vi, 119  
 captures the Pope, vi, 119  
 re-establishes Poland, vi, 120  
 army of, in 1812, vi, 122
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, crosses Russian frontier, vi, 122  
 leaves Moscow, vi, 132  
 campaigns of, vi, 71, 165  
 abdication of, vi, 171, 174  
 sent to St. Helena, vi, 174  
 buried at the Invalides, vi, 247
- Bonapartists, massacre of the, vi, 182
- Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat, iii, 13
- Bonnivet, the Admiral, iv, 61
- BONSAL, STEPHEN  
 The Panama Canal, viii, 323
- Borah, William E., ix, 270, 272
- Bordeaux, flight to, x, 67, 72-74
- Borneo, x, 259  
 oil fields of, captured, x, 386, 401
- Borodino, battle of, vi, 128
- Borr, i, 18
- Boscawen, Admiral, v, 175, 206
- Bosnia, vii, 130, 142; ix, 72  
 taken by Matthias, iii, 255  
 annexed to Austria-Hungary, viii, 241; ix, 68  
 69, 71
- Bosquet, General, vi, 334, 351
- Boston (Mass.), founded, iv, 292  
 Port Bill, v, 252, 259  
 public meeting in, v, 247, 249
- Bosworth, battle of, iii, 272, 273
- Botha, General, viii, 263
- Bo Tree, the Sacred, i, 104
- Bougainville Island, invaded, x, 182
- Boulogne, x, 60, 62
- Boundaries, Canada-Newfoundland, ix, 256
- Bourbaki, General, vii, 126
- Bourbon, Anne de, iv, 307
- Bourbon, Cardinal of, iv, 199
- Bourbon, Constable of, iv, 61, 67
- Bourbon, François de, iv, 73
- Bourbons, the, vi, 171  
 league against the, v, 73
- Bourchier, Sir Thomas, iii, 271
- Bourmont, General, vi, 221
- Bouvines, battle of, ii, 46
- Bowariyeh Mound, the, i, 26
- Bowring, Sir John, vi, 244
- Boxer Movement, The, vii, 267
- Boxers, the, vii, 267-278
- Boyne, battle of the, v, 29-41
- Braavalla, battle of, ii, 262



# INDEX

- Brabo, Gonzales, vii, 95, 98, 103, 105  
 Braddock, General, character of, v, 178  
   sent to Fort Duquesne, v, 175  
   march and defeat of, v, 179, 182  
**Braddock's Defeat**, v, 177  
**BRADFORD, WILLIAM**  
   The Voyage of the *Mayflower*, iv, 283  
 Bragadino, cruel treatment of, iv, 148  
 Brandenburg, House of, iv, 271; v, 67, 194  
 Brauer, Dr., German Minister to Norway, x, 32  
 Braybrook, Lieut. William, x, 246  
 Brazil, discovered, iii, 349  
   settled by Portuguese, iv, 109  
   separates from Portugal, vi, 189  
   declares independence, vi, 217  
   becomes a Republic, vii, 159  
   new constitution of, ix, 344  
 Bremen, iii, 121  
*Bremen*, airplane, in transatlantic flight, ix, 256-257  
 Brennabourg, besieged, ii, 282  
 Brenner Pass, ix, 299; x, 351  
 Brennus, i, 287  
 Brescia, sack of, iv, 8  
 Brest-Litovsk, parleys, ix, 39, 41  
   Treaty of, ix, 22, 56, 64, 92  
 Bretigny, peace of, iii, 170  
 Bretton Woods Conference, x, 249  
 Briand, Aristide, viii, 133  
   death of, ix, 259  
 Briand-Kellogg Treaty (*See* Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Treaty)  
 Brienne, Archbishop, v, 314  
**BRIGHT, J. F.**  
   The Magna Charta, iii, 41  
 Bright, John, vi, 235  
 Britain, conquered by Caesar, ii, 51  
   conquest of, ii, 108  
   overrun by Picts and Scots, ii, 180  
   calls upon Jutes, ii, 180  
   and the English, ii, 181  
   antiquity of, ii, 182  
   conquest of Southern, ii, 188, 190  
   (*See also* England, Great Britain)  
**Britain Must Go to War**, x, 1  
 Brithnorth, ii, 292  
 British Broadcasting Corporation, x, 8  
 British debt to the U. S., commission on, ix, 200  
 British East African Company, vii, 158  
 British Eighth Army, x, 136, 142, 143  
   Montgomery field commander of, x, 144  
   North African offensive of, x, 133, 144-146  
 British Labor Party, heads government, ix, 224, 257; x, 401  
   loses control, ix, 225, 258  
 British Museum, i, 73; v, 175  
 British Pacific Fleet, x, 401  
 Britons, Massacre of the, ii, 186  
   disappearance of, ii, 187, 188  
 Brockman, Lieut. Com. William H., submarine of, sinks Jap ship, x, 126  
 Brotherhood of the Cross, iii, 148, 149  
 Brown, Lieut. Col. James Barrett, plastic surgeon, x, 301, 302, 303, 305-307  
 Brown, John, execution of, vii, 7  
**BROWNING, OSCAR**  
   Execution of Marino Faliero, iii, 155  
 Bruce, Edward, iii, 103, 107, 109  
 Bruce, Robert, iii, 99-111  
 Brueys, Admiral, vi, 60, 66  
 Bruges, iii, 115, 117  
 Brunswick, Duke of, v, 320; vi, 11, 14, 174  
 Brussels, x, 254  
 Brutus, Marcus Junius, death of, ii, 51  
**BRUCE, JAMES**  
   The Coronation of Charlemagne, ii, 247  
 Bubonic plague, viii, 243  
 Bucharest, Treaty of, ix, 93  
 Budapest, ix, 71, 82  
   1848 march on, ix, 83  
   siege of, in World War II, x, 313  
 Buddha, Gautama, i, 99  
**BUELL, RAYMOND LESLIE**  
   Revolt in Spain, ix, 311  
 Bugeaud, General, vi, 227  
 Bukovina, acquired by Austria, v, 269  
 Bulgaria, vii, 141; ix, 347  
   Ferdinand becomes the Czar, viii, 241, 242  
   declares war on Serbia, ix, 9  
   surrenders, ix, 94  
   signs peace treaties, ix, 182, 215  
   conditions in, ix, 208-209, 226  
   sympathetic toward the Axis, x, 25  
   signs armistice, x, 312  
 Bulgarians, ii, 269, 201; v, 306  
   Slavonic origin of, ix, 60

- Buller, General, vi, 348; vii, 245  
**BULWER-LYTTON, SIR EDWARD**  
 The Battle of Marathon, i, 211  
 Bure, i, 18  
 Burgoyne, General, v, 279  
 retreat of, v, 288  
 surrender of, v, 291  
 Burgundians, conquered by Clovis, ii, 195  
 army of, iii, 262  
 Burgundy, Duke of, assassinated, iii, 209  
 refuses taxation, iii, 258  
 Switzerland and, iii, 91  
 Burial customs, violation of, i, 250  
 Burials, Lycurgus's regulations, i, 69  
 Burke, Edmund, speech on American colonies,  
 v, 254, 261, 262  
 Burke, "Thirty-one Knot," x, 285, 286  
**BURKE, U. R.**  
 The Moriscos, iii, 339  
 Burma, vii, 158  
 in World War II, x, 110, 313, 330  
 Burns, J. F., Aviation Radioman, x, 279  
 Burr, Aaron, vi, 120  
 Busch, Field Marshal Ernst, x, 349  
 Byblos, i, 123  
 Byrd, Richard Evelyn, North Pole expedition  
 of, ix, 227-242, 253  
 transatlantic flight of, ix, 247-248  
 South Pole expedition of, ix, 293-294  
 Byrnes, James F., Secretary of State, x, 408, 410  
 Byzantium, Philip fails at, i, 300  
 government removed to, ii, 152

## C

- Cable, Atlantic, the, vii, 85-92  
 Canadian-Australian, vii, 280  
 New York to Havana, viii, 230  
 Shetland Islands-Iceland, viii, 216  
 United States to Japan, viii, 215  
 Cabral, Alvarez de, discovers Brazil, iii, 349  
 Cadesia, battle of, ii, 219  
**Cæsar, Julius, ii, 51**  
 conquers Gaul and Southern Britain, ii, 51  
 defeats Pharnaces, ii, 51  
 assassinated, ii, 51  
**Cæsar, Octavius, accuses Antony, ii, 56**  
 dominions of, ii, 59  
 fleet of, ii, 59, 61  
**Cæsar, Sext. Julius, ii, 40**  
**Caillaux, Mmc., trial of, ix, 5**  
 Premier, arrest ordered, ix, 92  
 Cairo, Allied conference at, x, 213  
 Caius Claudius Nero, ii, 8  
 Cajetan, iv, 30  
 Calabria, seizure of, ii, 266  
 Calais, iv, 203; x, 62  
 English lose, iv, 119-122  
 Calcutta, taken by Surajah Dowlah, v, 199  
 Black Hole of, v, 199, 202  
 Caled, conquests of, ii, 218  
 Calendar, the, i, 120  
 California, admitted to United States, vi, 259  
**California, U. S. battleship, at Pearl Harbor,**  
 x, 102, 103  
 in battle for Leyte Gulf, x, 274  
 Caligula, son of Germanicus, ii, 89  
 Caliph's empire, extent of the, ii, 239  
 Calixtines, the, iii, 197  
 Callet, Guillaume, King of the Jacques, iii, 168  
 Callicrates, ii, 37  
 Calligraphy, iii, 249, 250  
 Callimachus, i, 214  
 Calneh, i, 23, 27, 29  
 Calonge, General, vii, 99  
 Calonne, v, 314  
 Calvin, John, iv, 27, 36, 38  
 Calvinists, iii, 199; iv, 156  
 suppression of, iv, 331-337  
 Cambacères, vi, 84  
 Cambrai, ix, 94  
 in World War II, x, 60  
 Cambray, treaty of, iv, 75  
 League of, iv, 1-12; vi, 45  
 Cambyzes, in war against Egypt, i, 173  
 puts Psammetichus to death, i, 177  
 policy of, i, 177, 178  
 invades Napata, i, 179  
 kills Apis, i, 180  
 violates tombs, i, 180  
 death of, i, 181  
 Camillus, defeats the Gauls, i, 296  
 Camouflage, ix, 18  
 Campanile at Venice  
 first stone laid of new, viii, 30  
 Campbell, Colin, vii, 3  
 Camperdown, battle of, vi, 43  
 Campobasso, iii, 262, 265

# INDEX

- Campo Formio, Treaty of, vi, 54
- Canaan, i, 25
- Canada, vi, 163; ix, 325, 345
- Cape Breton, Isle of, captured by British, v, 171-174
- French lose, to the English, v, 206-209
- Dominion of, established, vii, 92
- Irish Free State patterned after, ix, 185, 186, 198
- settles boundary dispute, ix, 256
- British King and Queen visit, ix, 392
- troops of, in World War II, x, 133, 171, 172
- at San Francisco Conference, x, 394
- represented at Japanese surrender, x, 415
- Canadian Pacific Railway, vii, 158
- Candahar, march to, vii, 144
- Candia, surrender of, vi, 49
- Candles, vi, 214
- Canidius, ii, 56, 62, 66
- Cannæ, battle of, i, 332
- Canning, vi, 196, 198, 205
- Cannon, Captain Bradford, plastic surgeon, x, 304
- Canossa, ii, 325
- Henry IV. (Germany) at, ii, 325
- Canovas del Castillo, vii, 94, 96, 100
- Canrobert, General, vi, 340, 355
- CANT, GILBERT
- Pearl Harbor, x, 87
- Canterbury, burned by Danes, ii, 298
- Cantigny, taken by 1st Division, U. S. A., ix, 23
- Canton, bombarded by English, vi, 356
- in Civil war, ix, 199, 327
- Canute, King of England, ii, 300, 303
- makes a pilgrimage to Rome, ii, 303
- death of, ii, 304
- Cape Breton, v, 206
- Isle of, surrenders to England, v, 173
- Cape of Good Hope, iii, 317, 320, 325; vi, 241; vii, 114
- captured by the British, vi, 28
- Capodistrias, Count, vi, 211
- Cappadocia, massacres in, ii, 115
- Caprera, Garibaldi retires to, vii, 21
- Captives, employment of, i, 27
- Capture of Cape Breton, The, v, 171
- Caraffa, Cardinal, iv, 104
- Carbonari, vi, 68
- Carcassonne besieged, iii, 36
- Caricatures, v, 142
- of America, v, 264
- Carlists, revolt of, vii, 129
- Carlist War, end of the, vii, 130
- Carlos, Don, vi, 231; vii, 101
- Carlowitz, Treaty of, v, 66; vi, 49
- CARLYLE, THOMAS
- The Austro-Russian Attack on Turkey, v, 147
- The Taking of the Bastille, v, 323
- Carmagnoles, the, vi, 3
- Carmelities, founded, ii, 350
- Carnegie, Andrew, viii, 278
- Carney, Rear Admiral "Mick", x, 258
- Carnot, President, murdered, vii, 168
- Carol, of Rumania, renounces throne, ix, 256
- recalled as King, ix, 258
- abdicates, x, 75
- Carolina, Colony of, founded, iv, 316
- divided, v, 144
- Carpattia*, rescues *Titanic* survivors, viii, 311
- Carpet, the wonderful Persian, ii, 223
- Carpini, Friar, iii, 84
- Carthage, i, 53-56
- importance of, ii, 1, 2
- colonies of, ii, 2-3
- trade of, ii, 2, 23
- employs mercenaries, ii, 5
- submission of, ii, 25-26
- disarms, ii, 27
- prepares for resistance, ii, 28
- attacks on, ii, 33, 34-35
- sack of, ii, 35
- Carthaginians unwarlike, ii, 4
- Casa-Bianca, vi, 67
- Casablanca, U. S. troops land at, x, 147
- French naval action at, x, 148
- surrender of, x, 149
- Roosevelt and Churchill confer at, x, 149
- Casalecchio, battle of, iv, 7
- Casas, Bartolomé de las, iv, 14
- Casement, Sir Roger, captured, ix, 10
- Cashmere conquered by Akbar, iv, 187
- Cassel, Sir Ernest, vii, 330
- Cassin*, U. S. destroyer, wrecked at Pearl Harbor, x, 106
- Cassino, x, 303; captured, x, 214
- Cassiodorus, ii, 197

- Cassius, ii, 51  
 Dion, quotation from, ii, 87-88  
 Castelar, vii, 95, 100, 129  
 Castelletto, taken by Doria, iv, 74  
 Castor and Pollux, i, 207  
 Cates, Major General Clifton B., commander of the Fourth Marines on Iwo, x, 326-327  
 Catesby, Robert, iv, 234  
 Catherine II. (Russia), v, 211, 340; vii, 26  
 magnificence of, v, 238  
 trip to Turkey, v, 303  
 visits Crimea, v, 302  
 Catholic League (Holy League), iv, 189-203, 270  
 Catholics, iv, 189, 331  
 escape of, in Spain, ii, 233  
 fanaticism of, iv, 167  
 persecution of, in England, iv, 173  
 Holy League of, iv, 189  
 in "gunpowder plot," iv, 233  
 new order for, in France, vii, 361-362; viii, 129-133  
 Catiline, conspiracy of, ii, 51  
 Cato, demands destruction of Carthage, ii, 24  
 death of, ii, 30  
 praises Scipio, ii, 31  
 and Achean captives, ii, 37  
 Caucasus, German drive toward, x, 140, 141  
 Cava, the story of, ii, 228  
 Cavaignac, vi, 274, 311, 315  
 Cavaliers, iv, 295-297, 299  
 Cavalry, combat of, at Arbela, i, 325  
 Cavell, Edith, shot, ix, 9  
 Cavour, Count, vi, 338, 340, 345; vii, 9, 11, 12, 19, 20  
 Cawlin, ii, 192  
 Cecil, Robert, (*See* Salisbury, Earl of)  
 Cedicius, i, 294  
 Celebes, x, 259  
 Celestria, ii, 51  
 Celius, ii, 62  
 Censorinus, ii, 26  
 Central American Peace Treaty, viii, 207  
 Peace Conference, viii, 230  
 Central Powers, ix, 39, 40, 42, 63  
 make peace with Russia, ix, 22, 92, 93  
 Centrists, in Germany, ix, 281, 289  
 Cerda, Chevalier de la, iv, 143  
 death of, iv, 144  
 Cerdic, ii, 190  
 Cervera, Admiral, vii, 207, 210, 215  
 Cesario, son of Cleopatra and Julius Cæsar, ii, 55  
 Cespedes, Carlos Manuel de, Cuba's provisional President, ix, 293  
 Ceuta, fortress of, ii, 227  
 Ceylon, discovered, iii, 350  
 captured by the English, vi, 43  
 Chaco War, The, ix, 307  
 Chagres River, in construction of Panama Canal, viii, 323  
 Chairôncia, battle of, ii, 50. (*See* Cheronea)  
 Chaldea, importance of, i, 28  
 temples and cities of, i, 26, 30  
 empire, expansion of, i, 31  
 Chaldean history, beginning of, i, 22  
 Chaldeans, the, i, 13, 28  
 Châlons, battle of, ii, 169  
 CHAMBERLAIN, NEVILLE  
 Britain Must Go to War, x, 1  
 Chamberlain, Neville, ix, 392; x, 26  
 becomes Prime Minister, ix, 344  
 at Berchtesgaden and Godesberg, ix, 345, 356  
 confers with Hitler at Munich, ix, 355, 358, 359; x, 17-18  
 War Message of, x, 1-10  
 pledges assistance to Poland, x, 17  
 pledges cooperation with France, x, 19  
 Russia distrustful of, x, 21-23  
 Churchill succeeds, as Prime Minister, x, 64  
 Chamberlin, Clarence D., makes endurance record, ix, 256  
 transatlantic flight of, ix, 246, 253  
 CHAMBERLIN, WILLIAM HENRY  
 Japan Goes Fishing, ix, 363  
 Chambord, Comte de, vii, 129  
 Champagne, Count of, iii, 12  
 Changarnier, General, vi, 314  
 Changchun-Kane railroad, ix, 265  
 Chang Tso-lin, ix, 263  
 Channel Islands, x, 75, 352  
*Chantier*, Byrd sails on the, ix, 231  
 Chanzy, General, vii, 125  
 Chapultepec pact, x, 394  
 Chares, i, 300  
 Charge of the Light Brigade, vi, 333  
 Chariot races, ii, 108  
 Chariots, scythe-armed, i, 320, 323, 326

# INDEX

- Charlemagne, ambitions of, ii, 252  
 crowned Emperor of Rome and of the West,  
 ii, 246  
 conquers Lombardy, ii, 246, 251  
 enters Rome, ii, 251  
 and Pope Hadrian, ii, 252  
 and Leo III., ii, 254  
 reasons for making Emperor, ii, 257  
 in Rome, ii, 258  
 coronation of, ii, 259  
 forebodings of, ii, 261
- Charles V. Conquers Italy**, iv, 57
- Charles V., becomes Roman Emperor, iv, 57  
 meeting with Henry VIII., iv, 51, 54  
 takes Milan, iv, 76  
 crowned by the Pope, iv, 77  
 grants peace to the Venetians, iv, 76  
 takes Tunis, iv, 87  
 and Council of Trent, iv, 104  
 the Netherlands under, iv, 151
- Charles I. (England), execution of, iv, 316
- Charles II. (England), death of, iv, 329
- Charles III., the Simple, ii, 264
- Charles VII., of France, and Joan of Arc, iii,  
 217-218  
 crowned at Rheims, iii, 225
- Charles VIII. Invades Italy**, iii, 305
- Charles VIII., King of France, iii, 306  
 enters Italy, iii, 310  
 enters Florence, iii, 312  
 enters Rome, iii, 313  
 capitulates, iii, 316  
 favors Earl of Richmond, iii, 269
- Charles IX., of France, iv, 184  
 death of, iv, 187
- Charles X., vi, 204
- Charles I., of Anjou, becomes Senator of Rome,  
 iii, 75-76  
 power of, iii, 75  
 prepares to attack the Greeks, iii, 78  
 selects a Pope, iii, 79
- Charles II., of Navarre, and the Jacques, iii,  
 168-169
- Charles II. (Spain), will of, v, 72
- Charles XI. (Sweden), iv, 320; v, 66
- Charles XII. (Sweden), becomes King, v, 66  
 invades Poland, v, 67  
 invades Russia, v, 89  
 character of, v, 95
- Charles XII., besieges Pultowa, v, 99  
 death of, v, 131
- Charles the Bold. (*See* Charles, Duke of  
 Burgundy)
- Charles, Duke of Burgundy**, at Salins, iii, 257  
 at Joux, iii, 259  
 cruelty of, iii, 262  
 repulse of, iii, 263  
 defeated by the Swiss, iii, 264  
 killed, iii, 265  
 interment of, iii, 266  
 unbelief in his death, iii, 267
- Charles Albert, vi, 282  
 of Carignano, vi, 195  
 Elector of Bavaria, v, 166  
 Emperor of Germany, v, 168
- Charles Edward Stuart, Young Pretender, v,  
 169
- Charles Francis Joseph, Archduke, succeeds to  
 throne, ix, 12
- Charles Martel, ii, 240, 249
- Charles of Denmark, viii, 98, 203
- Charmion, ii, 58
- Charter, the Great, ii, 300; iii, 41. (*See also*  
 Magna Charta)
- Charter of Frederick II., iii, 57
- CHASE, J.  
 The Great Earthquake at Lisbon, v, 185
- Château-Thierry, American troops defeat Ger-  
 mans, ix, 23, 24
- Chatham, Earl of, on the First American Con-  
 gress, v, 257  
 opposition to Boston Port Bill, v, 252
- Chautemps, Camille, French Premier, ix,  
 344
- Chedorlaomer, i, 29
- Chelsea conflagration, viii, 230
- Chen Chiung Ming, General, ix, 199
- Cherbourg, x, 227, 228  
 captured, x, 249
- Cheronea, battle of, i, 297, 299-310
- Chester, ii, 192
- Chiang Kai-shek, ix, 369, 379; x, 408  
 kidnapped, ix, 331, 332  
 aided by Russia, x, 24  
 at Cairo Conference, x, 213
- Chiang Kai-shek, Madame, x, 213
- Chichester, Sir Arthur, iv, 210
- Chighitta, Heroes of, iii, 185

- Children, disposition of, i, 65  
 training of Spartan, i, 66
- Chile, vii, 80  
 and Peru, arbitrate, ix, 198, 199
- China, ix, 8, 95, 184; x, 80, 356, 386, 410, 414  
 invaded by Zingis Khan, iii, 26-27  
 first revealed by Marco Polo, iii, 89  
 plague in, iii, 140  
 opened to European trade, vi, 241; vii, 7  
 first war with Great Britain, vi, 243  
 opium war of, with Britain and France, vi  
 244-247  
 treaties of, with other nations, vi, 245, 246  
 interests of, aided by Suez Canal, vii, 114  
 fleet of, defeated by Japanese, vii, 169-179  
 Boxer Rebellion in, vii, 267-274  
 rise of national sentiment in, vii, 275-279  
 Empress Dowager of, vii, 267; viii, 242  
 first senate opened, viii, 263  
 Imperial Parliament summoned, viii, 278  
 revolution in, viii, 291, 293  
 Dr. Sun Yat Sen leads revolt, viii, 294-295  
 Conditions prior to revolt, viii, 296-310  
 and Treaty of Peace (1919), ix, 113, 131-  
 132, 153  
 civil war in, ix, 198, 199, 225, 327  
 Japan invades Manchurian province of, ix,  
 261  
 Japan's policy toward, ix, 262-266  
 League of Nations report on, ix, 267-270  
 relations of, with foreign powers, ix, 271-275  
 resistance methods of, ix, 276-277  
 resumes relations with Persia, ix, 294  
 war with Japan starts, ix, 363  
 affected by European conditions, ix, 365,  
 366; x, 24  
 Japanese intentions in, ix, 368-372  
 defenses of, against Japan, ix, 372-379  
 declares war on Germany, Italy, Japan, x, 110  
 Lido-Burma Road to, is opened, x, 313  
 one of United Nations, x, 388  
 30-year Treaty of, with Russia, x, 408  
 formal Japanese surrender to, x, 415
- China Clipper*, first Pacific flight of, ix, 307
- Chinchow, Manchuria, attacked, ix, 259, 263
- Chinese, engineers, iii, 29  
 Revolution of 1911, viii, 293-310
- Chios, massacre of, vi, 203
- Choiseul, v, 237
- Chomasbêlus, i, 21
- Chosroes, murder of, ii, 204  
 conquests of, ii, 204
- Chreocopia, the, i, 113
- Christ, birth of Jesus, ii, 67, 75  
 crucifixion of, ii, 89, 101  
 sufferings of, ii, 104  
 last words of, ii, 107
- Christendom, safety of, ii, 245
- Christian II. (Denmark), iv, 87
- Christian IV. (Denmark), Tilly defeats, iv, 272
- Christian IX. (Denmark), death of, viii, 154
- Christian chivalry, iii, 277
- Christian Church at Smyrna, ii, 113
- Christian kings of Spain, unite, iii, 9
- Christianity, birth of Latin, ii, 164
- Christians, eleven persecutions, ii, 109  
 first persecution of the, ii, 109  
 second persecution of the, ii, 110  
 third persecution of the, ii, 111  
 fourth persecution of the, ii, 112  
 fifth persecution of the, ii, 113  
 sixth persecution of the, ii, 114  
 seventh persecution of the, ii, 114  
 eighth persecution of the, ii, 115  
 ninth persecution of the, ii, 116  
 tenth persecution of the, ii, 116  
 eleventh persecution of the, ii, 117  
 forty years of peace, ii, 117  
 persecuted, ii, 109-113  
 permitted to worship, ii, 118  
 join Arabs, ii, 230  
 attacked by Mamelukes, iii, 74  
 the New, iii, 285
- Christian Science founded, vii, 130
- Church and State, ii, 256-257  
 separation of, viii, 129  
 causes of separation, viii, 130  
 Napoleon's attitude on, viii, 131
- Churches, profanation of, ii, 238
- CHURCHILL, WINSTON  
 The Invasion of Russia, x, 77
- Churchill, Winston, ix, 190; x, 21, 392  
 becomes Prime Minister, x, 64  
 broadcast of, on invasion of Russia, x, 77-85  
 and Roosevelt, conclude Atlantic Charter, x,  
 85  
 confers with Roosevelt in Washington, x,  
 137, 138-139

# INDEX

- Churchill, Winston, visits Stalin in Moscow, x, 141  
visits Egypt and Eighth Army, x, 142, 144  
report of, on U. S. arms shipments, x, 143  
confers with Roosevelt at Casablanca, x, 149  
meets Roosevelt at Quebec to plan invasion, x, 172, 215  
at Cairo and Teheran Conferences, x, 213  
and French invasion, x, 219-220  
announces German surrender, x, 342  
at Potsdam Conference, x, 401  
resigns as Prime Minister, x, 402
- Cimbri, the, ii, 44, 48
- Cimon, i, 232
- Cincinnatus, i, 236
- Cinematograph, in Antarctic exploration, viii, 316
- Cinq-Mars, execution of, iv, 293
- Circumnavigation of the globe, first, iv, 47
- Circus, factions of the, ii, 195  
Blue and Green factions of, ii, 203
- Cirencester, ii, 191
- Cirra, i, 43
- Cisalpine Gaul, i, 332
- Citadel at Rome, attacked, i, 293  
geese save the, i, 295
- Citadel of Plebeians, i, 237
- City of Flint*, x, 41
- Civil Service Act (United States), vii, 150
- Civil War, United States, vii, 24, 80  
China, ix, 198, 199, 225, 327  
Spain, ix, 311, 327, 328, 343, 380
- Clairfayt, vi, 9
- Clark, Maj. Gen. Mark Wayne, x, 182  
on pre-invasion mission in Africa, x, 139
- Claudel, Henri, ix, 267
- Claudius, ii, 142
- Claudius, Emperor of Rome, ii, 89  
poisoned, ii, 108
- Claudius Nero, ii, 11
- Clausel, General, vi, 222, 226
- Cleander, i, 326
- Clearchus, i, 270
- Cleisthenes, i, 191, 209
- Clemenceau, Georges, becomes premier, ix, 21  
orders arrest of Caillaux, ix, 92  
wounded by anarchists, ix, 111  
in New York, ix, 200  
death of, ix, 257-258
- Clement II., Pope, ii, 313
- Clement IV., Pope, iii, 75, 85
- Clement V., Pope, abolishes the Knights Templars, iii, 98
- Clement VI. celebrates jubilee, iii, 146
- Clement VII. becomes Pope, iv, 60
- Clement, James, assassinates Henry III., iv, 196
- Cleomenes, i, 191
- Cleopatra, Antony and, ii, 52, 54, 56, 57, 60, 64, 65, 67  
Caesar and, ii, 55, 57  
children of, ii, 55  
flight of, ii, 64  
death of, ii, 67
- Clergy, rage of the English against the, ii, 186
- Clermont, Council of, ii, 335, 339
- Clinchant, General, vii, 126
- Clinton, Sir Henry, v, 285
- Clive, v, 220, 337; ix, 297  
captures Arcot, v, 175  
captures Trichinopoly, v, 175  
conquers Bengal, v, 201
- Cloelia swims the Tiber, i, 204
- Close-Up at Stalingrad, A, x, 151
- Clothing, first use of, i, 6
- Clovis, conquers the Burgundians, ii, 195  
King of the Franks, ii, 195  
converted to Christianity, ii, 195  
conquers the Goths, ii, 195  
established in Gaul, ii, 195  
conquers Aquitaine, ii, 195  
becomes a Christian, ii, 198  
death of, ii, 198 ..
- Clusium, siege of, i, 285
- Cobden, Richard, vi, 235
- Coblentz, Allies take, x, 330
- Cochin China ceded to France, vii, 30
- Code of Justinian, ii, 202
- Code Napoléon, the, vi, 87
- Codrington, Admiral, vi, 206
- Colenso, vii, 245
- Coli and Nungesser, ix, 245
- Coligny, Admiral, of France, defends St. Quentin, iv, 118
- COLLIER, WILLIAM FRANCIS  
The Age and Laws of Justinian, ii, 197  
The Beginning of the French Revolution, v, 313  
Crusade Against the Albigenses, iii, 33

## COLLIER, WILLIAM FRANCIS

- The First Consul, vi, 83
- The Founding of Constantinople, ii, 153
- The Great Triumphs of Napoleon, vi, 113
- The Growth of the Papacy, ii, 163
- The Normans in France and Italy, ii, 261
- Persecutions of the Christians, ii, 109
- The Reformation, iv, 27
- The Seven Years' War, v, 193
- The Thirty Years' War, iv, 269
- Cologne, early importance of, iii, 115
- Cathedral finished, vii, 144
- Allies take, x, 313
- Colombia, Republic of, founded, vi, 199
- United States of, vii, 378
- conflict with Peru, ix, 292
- Colonial America, Congress of, v, 219
- Colonial Tories, v, 256
- Cornwallis aids in escape of, iv, 298
- Colonization of Virginia, The, iv, 213
- Colonna, Prospero, iv, 59, 61, 66
- Colorado*, battleship, absent from Pearl Harbor, x, 88, 105
- Colosseum, the, ii, 130
- Columbus, Christopher, ships of, iii, 293
- companions of, iii, 294
- embarks, iii, 295
- diary of, iii, 295
- beholds the New World, iii, 298, 301
- returns to Spain, iii, 303
- received by Ferdinand and Isabella, iii, 303
- Columbus, New Mexico, attacked by Mexican brigands, ix, 10
- Columbus of the Air, ix, 243
- Comitium, i, 97
- Commandos, raid Dieppe, x, 133
- pave way for Normandy landing, x, 231
- invade Walcheren Island, x, 312
- Commercial aviation, development of, ix, 251
- Communism, vi, 278
- Lenin a god to, ix, 219
- versus Fascism and Naziism, ix, 283, 311, 312, 313, 317, 320; x, 24
- Axis pact against, ix, 349, 350, 364, 366
- worst features of, like Naziism, x, 80
- Communist Third International (Comintern), ix, 273, 350
- propaganda of, resented in Poland, x, 14
- dissolved, x, 171

- Communists, ix, 324
- American, ix, 221
- Chinese, ix, 369
- Russian, fear attack by Japan and Germany, ix, 320
- Comonfort, General, vii, 48, 49
- Compiègne Forest, x, 343
- armistice of 1940 signed in, x, 64
- Compromise, the, anti-Inquisition league, iv, 156
- Concentration camps, Santo Tomas, x, 313
- German, x, 358, 366, 367
- Concha, Manuel, vii, 105
- Concord, skirmish at, v, 265
- Concordat, of France and the Church, viii, 130
- Condé, iv, 183
- Prince de, iv, 307, 309, 311, 314
- Princesse de, iv, 311
- Condon, Dr. E. U., atom smasher, x, 407
- Confederation of the Rhine, vi, 114, 119
- Conference, Peace (1919), ix, 95
- Naval Armament, ix, 184
- Disarmament, ix, 259
- Reparations, ix, 260
- Inter-American, ix, 331
- Palestine, ix, 380
- Conferences in World War II, Atlantic Charter, x, 85
- Bretton Woods, x, 249
- Cairo, x, 213
- Casablanca, x, 149
- Dumbarton Oaks, x, 254
- Moscow, x, 182
- Potsdam, x, 401, 402
- Quebec, x, 172
- San Francisco, x, 386
- Teheran, x, 213
- Washington, x, 137, 138-139
- Yalta, x, 313
- Confucianism, prevailing doctrine in China, viii, 299-300
- Confucius, i, 141
- Confucius, education of, i, 143
- marriage of, i, 143
- begins to teach, i, 143
- disciples of, i, 144
- wanderings of, i, 145
- death of, i, 146
- tomb of, i, 147



# INDEX

- Confucius, descendants of, i, 148
  - teachings of, i, 149
  - Golden Rule of, i, 149
  - philosophy of, i, 150
- Congo, Upper, discovered, vii, 129
- Congo Free State, vii, 144
- Congo Independent State, viii, 216
- Congress Declares a State of War With Japan**, x, 109
- Congress, of Aix-la-Chapelle, vi, 183
  - of Berlin, vii, 131, 140
  - of Mantua, iv, 10
  - of Paris, vi, 343
  - of Vienna, the, vi, 172
  - the Colonial (America), v, 219
- Congress of Berlin, The**, vii, 131
- Connally, James, executed, ix, 10
- Conqueror, character of the Oriental, i, 31
- Conquest of Algeria, The**, vi, 219
- Conquest of Egypt by Cambyes**, i, 173
- Conquest of Granada, The**, iii, 275
- Conquest of Ireland and Colonization of Ulster, The**, iv, 205
- Conquest of Lydia, The**, i, 153
- Conquest of Mysore, The**, v, 335
- Conquest of Persia, The**, ii, 217
- Conquest of the Air, The**, viii, 355
- Conquest of the Northwest Passage, The**, viii, 49
- Conquests of Bengal and Canada, The**, v, 201
- Conquests of Mexico and Peru**, iv, 13
- Conquests of Zingis Khan**, iii, 23
- Consolidation of Germany by Henry I.**, ii, 279
- Conspiracy, against Peisistratæ, i, 187
  - of Catiline, ii, 51
  - in Italy, iii, 76
  - of Tiepolo, iii, 90
  - of Marino Faliero, iii, 156, 158
  - of the Pazzi, iii, 268
  - of the Gunpowder Plot, iv, 232
  - against Venetian Republic, vi, 47
- Constance, Council of, iii, 173, 193
  - close of the Council of, iii, 198-199
- Constantine, birth of, ii, 153
  - the first Christian Emperor, ii, 152
  - proclaimed Emperor, ii, 154
  - vision of, ii, 155
- Constantine, becomes Emperor of the West, ii, 156
  - becomes master of the Roman Empire, ii, 157
  - favours Christianity, ii, 157
  - selects new capital, ii, 158
  - policy of, ii, 159
  - death of, ii, 160
- Constantine, King of Greece, viii, 380; ix, 20, 199
  - policy of, ix, 209
- Constantine Paleologus, bravery of, iii, 228, 240
  - death of, iii, 245
- Constantinople, founding of, ii, 159
  - besieged by the Arabs, ii, 238
  - besieged by the Varangians, ii, 274
  - splendors of, ii, 341
  - Greeks and Latins in, iii, 16
  - gained by Venetians, iii, 17-18
  - pillaged by Crusaders, iii, 20
  - capture of, iii, 20
  - Latin Empire of, iii, 20
  - regained by Paleologus, iii, 60
  - defences of (1453), iii, 227
  - siege of (1453), iii, 229
  - Mustafa retires to, iv, 145, 148
  - under Turkish Nationalists, ix, 200
  - Greeks at, ix, 211
- Constantius Chlorus, ii, 153
- Convoys, x, 135, 142, 143
- Cook, Dr. Frederick A., claims discovery of North Pole, viii, 253
- Cook, Captain James, v, 210, 221, 269
  - first voyage to Australia, v, 222
  - discovers New Caledonia, v, 245
- Cook's Australian Discoveries**, v, 221
- Coolidge, Calvin, ix, 183, 224
  - President of the U. S., ix, 216, 225
  - death of, ix, 291
- Coomassie, capture of, vii, 129
- COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE**
  - The Battle of Lake Erie, vi, 155
- Copenhagen, taken by Christian III., iv, 88
  - Nelson at, vi, 86
- Copernicus, at University of Cracow, ix, 52
- Coral Sea, Battle of, x, 111
- Curculum, ii, 24
- Cordova, fall of, ii, 233
- Cordova, Gonsalvo de, iii, 340, 345, 349
- Corea, vii, 168, 179

- Corfu, Declaration of, ix, 73, 75  
 bombarded by Italians, ix, 216
- Corinth, prepares for defence, ii, 41  
 sack of, ii, 36, 42-43
- Corn Law, vi, 237
- Cornwallis, Lord, v, 294  
 surrender of, v, 295  
 in Mysore War, v, 335
- Coronation of Alfonso XIII., The, vii, 307
- Coronation of Charlemagne, The, ii, 247
- Coronation of King Edward VII., The, vii, 313
- Corregidor, x, 411, 415  
 yields to Japanese, x, 110  
 recaptured, x, 313
- Corsica, i, 332; v, 220  
 sold to France, v, 237
- Corstiaensen, Hendrick, iv, 248, 250
- Cortés, Fernando, iv, 14-15
- Cortes, the Spanish Parliament, vi, 186; vii, 93; ix, 259
- Cosgrave, William T., ix, 199
- Cosgrove, Lieut. Robert, x, 265
- Cosmo de Medici, iii, 171
- Cossack*, H.M.S., in *Altmark* incident, x, 30
- Costa Rica, vi, 217
- Cotton, Egyptian, vii, 329
- COUBERTIN, PIERRE DE  
 Why I Revived the Olympic Games, viii, 187
- Council of Basle, iii, 197
- Council of Blood, iv, 157
- Council of Clermont, ii, 339
- Council of Constance and the Hussite War, iii, 191
- Council of Constance, iii, 173, 193  
 close of the, iii, 198-199
- Council of League of Nations, ix, 97, 115
- Council of Pisa, iii, 189; iv, 7
- Council of Sardica, ii, 164
- Council of Ten, iii, 90, 157; vi, 48
- Council of the Indies, iii, 350
- Council of Trent, iv, 104, 108
- Counter-Reformation, The, iv, 99
- Counter-Reformation in Italy, iv, 99-109
- Court of God, iii, 2
- Covenant of The League of Nations, ix, 97
- Covenant of the League of Nations, Articles of, ix, 97-111  
 Section I. of Peace Treaty, ix, 114
- Cracow, annexed to Austria, vi, 258  
 university founded, ix, 52
- CRANE, FERGUS  
 The Pan-American Congress, viii, 209
- Crapser, Lieut. Stuart, Helldiver pilot, x, 279
- Crassus, ii, 51
- CRAWFORD, ROBERT  
 The Automobile, vii, 301
- CREASY, E. S.  
 The Battle of Arbela, i, 313  
 The Battle of Blenheim, v, 69  
 The Battle of Pultowa, v, 91  
 The Battle of the Metaurus, ii, 1  
 The Battle of Tours, ii, 239  
 The Battle of Valmy, vi, 1  
 Joan of Arc at Orleans, iii, 211  
 Siege of Syracuse, i, 253  
 Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, v, 279  
 Victory of Arminius, ii, 79
- Crécy, Battle of, iii, 123-130
- Crete, subdued by the Arabs, ii, 259  
 captured by Turks, iv, 316  
 revolt in, vii, 84  
 united to Greece, viii, 242, 381  
 won by Germans, x, 76
- Crevant, taken by Bedford, iii, 209
- CRICHTON, KYLE  
 Military Surgery, x, 301
- Crimea, the, taken by Venetians, iii, 255  
 Russian conquest of, v, 303-312  
 invaded by British and French, vi, 329-330  
 Yalta Conference in, x, 313
- Crimean War, The, vi, 329
- Crispi, Francesco, vii, 152
- Crispus, son of Constantine, ii, 157
- Crissa, i, 43
- Cristina, Regent of Spain, vi, 231
- Critolaus, ii, 40
- Croats, history of the, ix, 68-69  
 desire of, for freedom, ix, 73-75  
 union with Serbs and Slovenes, ix, 76-78, 85, 208
- Cræsus, conquests of, i, 153  
 sends to allies for aid, i, 156  
 on funeral pyre, i, 158
- Cromlechs in Britain, ii, 185
- Cromwell, Oliver, iv, 300  
 reorganizes the army, iv, 302  
 invades Ireland, iv, 316

# INDEX

- Cronje, General, surrender of, vii, 265  
 Crookes, Sir William, viii, 3  
 Cross, the, ii, 92  
   inscription on the, ii, 98  
 Crotona, i, 209  
 Crowe, Major Henry P., at Tarawa, x, 187  
 Crown Point captured, v, 268, 281  
**Crucifixion, The**, ii, 91  
 Crucifixion, customs regarding, ii, 95, 96  
   darkness during the, ii, 104  
   the central point in the world's history, ii, 108  
 Crusade, First, ii, 335-349  
   Second, ii, 350  
   Third, iii, 1-9  
   Fourth, preached, iii, 11-13  
   Fifth, begun, iii, 53-60  
   Sixth, iii, 60  
   Eighth, iii, 74  
**Crusade Against the Albigenses**, iii, 33  
 Crusaders, first, ii, 336, 339-340  
   arrive in Constantinople, ii, 340  
   arrive in Asia, ii, 343  
   make terms with Alexis, ii, 343  
   capture Antioch, ii, 344-345  
   worship Tomb of Christ, ii, 347  
   take Jerusalem, ii, 347  
   German, return home, iii, 3  
   capture Constantinople, iii, 19-20  
 Crystal Palace, vii, 375  
 Ctesiphon, sack of, ii, 223  
 Cuba, colonized by Spain, iv, 13  
   battle of Santiago at, vii, 205-218  
   Spaniards evacuate, vii, 204  
   Constitutional Convention of, vii, 266  
   first congress meets, vii, 279  
   U. S. troops evacuate, viii, 16  
   insurrection in, viii, 216  
   Gomez elected President of, viii, 242  
   C. D. Torriente of, heads League Assembly,  
     ix, 216  
   revolt of Army of, ix, 293  
   among "Little 45" at San Francisco, x, 395  
 Culebra Cut, viii, 333-342  
 Culloden, battle of, v, 169  
 Cunaxa, battle of, i, 271-272  
 Curaçao, Dutch take, iv, 293  
 Cures, i, 97  
 Curie, Marie and Pierre, radium discoveries of,  
   viii, 1, 2, 5; x, 406  
 Curtis, Charles, ix, 257, 278  
 Curtiss, Glenn, viii, 370, 373; ix, 248, 249  
 Curules, conduct of the, i, 291  
 Cushite Kingdom, i, 21  
 Cuthwulf, march of, ii, 191  
 Cuzco, iv, 17  
 Cyclotron, atom smasher, x, 407  
 Cynegirus, i, 218  
 Cynocephalæ, ii, 22  
 Cynric, conquest of, ii, 191  
 Cyprian, execution of, ii, 116  
 Cyprus, earthquake in, iii, 141  
   won by the Turks, iv, 147-150  
   acquired by Great Britain, vii, 130  
 Cyrus, at Median Court, i, 133  
   rebellion of, i, 134  
   King of Media and Persia, i, 139  
   marches against Cræsus, i, 153  
   plans to turn the Euphrates, i, 164  
 Cyrus, the Younger, i, 269-272  
   decides to seize throne, i, 269  
   death of, i, 272  
**Cyrus Founds Persia**, i, 133  
 Czechoslovakia (Czecho-Slovakia), ix, 113, 320,  
   356  
   land and people of, ix, 73, 80, 90, 347  
   conditions under Austrian rule, vi, 280; ix,  
     80-83, 87, 88  
   right to autonomy, ix, 72, 84  
   National Council formed, ix, 85, 89  
   rise of new state of, ix, 90-91  
   independence of, recognized, ix, 84, 126  
   Nazi moves against, ix, 349-354, 357  
   betrayal of, at Munich, ix, 355-362; x, 18, 19  
   seized by Germany, ix, 362, 380  
   relations with Poland, x, 13  
   claims against, x, 14, 16  
   Russians battle Nazis in, x, 356  
   mutual assistance pact with Russia, x, 394  
**Czecho-Slovak Nation, The**, ix, 79  
 Czecho-Slovak Revolutionary Committee, ix, 91  
 Czolgosz, vii, 283

## D

- Dachau, Nazi concentration camp, x, 358  
 Dacia becomes a Roman province, ii, 141  
 Daguerre, vii, 196  
 Daguerreotype, vii, 196

- Dahl, Dr. O., physicist, x, 407
- Dail Eireann, ix, 185, 199, 259, 292
- Dakar, x, 147
- Daladier, Edouard, at Munich, ix, 355, 356,  
358, 359, 360; x, 17  
receives dictatorial powers, ix, 380-381
- Dale, Sir Thomas, iv, 225
- Daleminziens subdued by Henry I., ii, 282
- Dalmatia, ii, 350
- Dalny, Japanese lease of, ix, 8
- Damascus occupied by Mamelukes, iii, 74
- Damaskinos, Archbishop, Regent of Greece, x,  
312
- Damiani, opinion of Gregory VII., ii, 318
- Damietta, iii, 53, 60
- Damrémont, General, vi, 227
- Dandolo, Doge of Venice, iii, 13  
statecraft of, iii, 16  
Andrea, the Doge, rule of, iii, 155
- Dane-geld, the, ii, 292, 294
- Danes, the, ii, 283, 287  
attack England, ii, 259, 292  
in England, position of the, ii, 296  
burn Canterbury, ii, 298
- Danican, General, vi, 40
- Daniel interprets writing on the wall, i, 165-167
- Danish Conquest of England, ii, 291
- Danish kings, dues exacted by, iii, 117
- Dannenberg, General, vi, 348, 353
- Danton, v, 321
- Danzig, ix, 120, 127, 392  
siege of (1813), viii, 70  
port of, needed by Poland, ix, 56  
made a Free City, ix, 114, 128  
Nazi policy toward, ix, 315, 316, 353  
Russian siege of, x, 313
- Danubian principalities, vi, 345
- Dardanelles, vii, 136, 137; x, 26  
warships barred from, in peacetime, vi, 344  
Turkish right to fortify, ix, 327
- Darius, i, 211  
army of, at Arbela, i, 316, 317  
death of, i, 330
- Darlan, Admiral signs armistice in North  
Africa, x, 136, 148  
assassinated, x, 149
- DARMESTER, JAMES  
Zoroaster, i, 33
- Dasturs, the, i, 41
- Datis, i, 211
- Daugherty, resignation asked, ix, 224
- Daun, Count, v, 194, 196, 204
- Dauphin, death of the, vi, 28
- Davis, Sir John, iv, 255
- DAVIS, RICHARD HARDING  
The Coronation of Alfonso XIII., vii, 307
- DAVIS, WILLIAM STEARNS  
The Near East after Lausanne, ix, 203
- Davison, Ralph, Rear Admiral, x, 264
- Davout, vi, 167
- Dawes, Charles G., ix, 225  
on Reparations Commission, ix, 217
- Dawes Plan, ix, 225, 290
- "Day of the ass-drivers," iv, 7
- Death of Socrates, i, 275
- DEBSKI, ALEXANDER H.  
Poland Reborn, ix, 51
- Debt-funding, British-American, ix, 200  
French-American, ix, 242
- Debts, discharge of, i, 111
- Decemviri, the, i, 233
- Decemvirs, i, 238
- Decian Storm, the, ii, 116
- Decius, Emperor, defeated and slain, ii, 142
- Declaration of Corfu, ix, 73-75
- Declaration of Frankfort, vi, 171
- Declaration of Independence, The, v, 271
- Declaration of Indulgence, v, 16, 20
- Declaration of London, viii, 242
- Declaration of Rights, v, 27
- Decline and Fall of Venice, The, vi, 45
- Decourtrias, vi, 274
- Dedeagatch, concession of, to Turkey, ix, 209
- Defeat of the Spanish Armada, iv, 167
- De Gaulle, Gen. Charles, x, 222
- Deiri, kingdom of the, ii, 194
- Delaney, John F., *Yorktown's* Engineer Officer,  
x, 120, 123
- De Launay, v, 329
- De Lesseps, Ferdinand, vi, 355; vii, 111, 379
- Delfts-Haven, Pilgrims embark from, iv, 284
- Delhi, Tamerlane arrives in, iii, 184  
Sultan flees from, iii, 185-186  
surrenders to Tamerlane, iii, 186  
pillage of, iii, 186  
massacre of Moguls in, iii, 187
- Delphi, temple at, i, 45  
change of divinities at, i, 45

# INDEX

- Delphi, wealth of, i, 48
  - the Bank of Greece in, i, 49
  - Oracle of, i, 19, 43
- Delphic Oracle, The, i, 43
- Deluge, The, i, 11
- Deluge, the, i, 11
  - Celtic legends of, i, 17
  - Chaldean tradition of, i, 12
  - Chinese tradition of, i, 11
  - Greek traditions of, i, 17
  - Lithuanian tradition of, i, 18
  - Mexican legend of, i, 14-15
  - the Phrygian tradition of, i, 14
  - Scandinavian legend of, i, 18
  - South American tradition of, i, 12
- Delyanni assassinated, viii, 105
- Demetrius, ii, 39
- Demosthenes, i, 263, 297, 302-309
  - Athens gives golden crown to, i, 306
  - flight of, i, 309
- Denain, battle of, v, 110
- Denby, Secretary of the Navy, ix, 224
- Denmark, iv, 272; vi, 119; vii, 80; ix, 11; x, 34, 78
  - Reformation in, iv, 88
  - long union of, with Norway, viii, 99, 204
  - deprived of Norwegian crown, viii, 100
  - Prince of, becomes King of Norway, viii, 203
  - Christian X. becomes King of, viii, 311
  - one of Oslo states, x, 25
  - invaded by Germany, x, 27
  - Germans surrender in, x, 346, 347
- Dentatus, i, 237, 239
- Deorham, Saxon victory at, ii, 191
- Derby, Earl, institutes Blue Ribbon of the Turf, v, 294
- Derby, Lord, vii, 131, 137, 139
- De Rivera, Primo, ix, 226
- Derkyllidas, i, 273
- Derry, colonization of, iv, 212
- Dervishes, vii, 145, 204, 221
- Descartes, iv, 293
- Desiderius, King, seized by Charlemagne, ii, 251
- Desmond, Earl of, iv, 208
- De Soto, iv, 88
- D'ESTERRE-KEELING, ELEONORE
  - The Peace Conference, vii, 247
- Destroying Prince, the, iii, 185
- Destruction of St. Pierre, The, vii, 289
- Destruction of Tea in Boston Harbor, v, 247
- Detroit, English evacuate, vi, 163
  - capital of war production, x, 205
- Deucalion, i, 17
- Deutschland*, makes second trip to U. S., ix, 11
- De Valera, Eamon, ix, 197
  - elected President of Executive Council of Irish Free State, ix, 259, 292
- Devers, Gen. Jacob L., Germans surrender to, x, 351
- Dewey, Admiral George, vii, 235
- De Witte, viii, 108
- De Witts, murder of the, iv, 316
- Deza, the Grand Inquisitor, iii, 348
- Diadochi, wars of the, i, 331
- Dias, Bartolomeu, iii, 317, 319
- Diaz, Porfirio, vii, 50, 53; viii, 279
  - career of, viii, 281-290
- Diaz: The Maker of Modern Mexico, viii, 281
- Dickinson, Lieut. Clarence E., witnesses Pearl Harbor attack, x, 100
  - in Battle of Midway, x, 115, 118
- Dictum de Kenilworth, iii, 73
- Dido, i, 55
- Diebitsch, General, vi, 208
- Dieppe, commando raid on, x, 133, 218
- Diet of Augsburg, iv, 35
- Diet of Erfurt, ii, 285
- Diet of Hansa, last meeting of, iv, 316
- Diet of Poland, v, 242
- Diet of Pressburg, vi, 278
- Diet of Ratisbon, iv, 100
- Diet of Spire, iv, 35
- Diet of Worms, iii, 11; iv, 32
- Dieus, ii, 38
- Digby, Sir Everard, iv, 233, 240
- Digest of Justinian, ii, 202
- DILLON, E. J.
  - The Portuguese Revolution, viii, 265
- Diocletian, division of the Empire under, ii, 152
  - persecutes Christians, ii, 117
  - and Maximian, abdication of, ii, 118
- Dir, ii, 273
- Directoire, The, vi, 29
- Directoire, the, vi, 29-43, 69, 83
- Dirigibles, in polar exploration, ix, 227-242
- Disarmament Conference, World, ix, 259, 278

Discovery and Settlement of Manhattan Island, The, iv, 245  
 Discovery of America, The, iii, 293  
 Discovery of Gold in California, The, vi, 259  
 Discovery of the Northwest Passage, The, vi, 249  
 Discovery of the X-Rays, vii, 181  
 Disraeli, vi, 237; vii, 129  
   (See Beaconsfield, Lord)  
 Doenitz, Grand Admiral, x, 359  
   surrenders Nazi Germany, x, 343, 344  
   broadcast of, to German soldiers, x, 345  
   efforts of, to split the Allies, x, 346, 347  
 Dogger Bank and After, The, viii, 41  
 Dogger Bank disaster, viii, 41-46  
 Doheny, Edward L., ix, 256  
 Dollfuss, Dr. Engelbert, assassinated, ix, 294  
 Dombrowski, Henry, ix, 54  
 Dominion of Canada, established, vii, 92  
 Domitian, Emperor of Rome, ii, 141  
   persecutes Christians, ii, 110  
   assassination of, ii, 141  
 Doolittle, James H., leads raid on Japan, x, 110  
   fliers executed by Japanese, x, 171  
 Doomsday Book, ii, 349  
 Doria, Andrea, iv, 74, 76  
   address of, iv, 79  
   honors to, iv, 83  
   influence of, iv, 86  
 Doria, Filippino, iv, 72, 74, 81  
 Dorian migrations, i, 56  
 Dorian confederacy, i, 243  
 Dormer, Sir Cecil, x, 35, 36, 42, 45  
 Dost Mohammed, vi, 239  
 Douai, surrender of, v, 111  
 Douglas, the Steward, knighted, iii, 107  
 Doumer, Paul, President of France, ix, 259-260  
 Dowlah, Surajah, v, 199, 202  
 Downfall of Napoleon, The, vi, 165  
 Downes, destroyer, at Pearl Harbor, x, 106  
 Draco, laws of, i, 109, 113  
 Draga, Queen, vii, 349  
 Dragonade, the, iv, 332  
 Drainage, improvements in, vi, 308  
 Drake, Francis, voyage around the world, iv, 170  
   on Spanish Main, iv, 172  
   attacks Spain, iv, 176

"*Drang nach Osten*," ix, 82, 87, 348  
 Dreadnoughts, viii, 155  
 Dred Scott decision, vi, 356; vii, 84  
 Dresden, surrender of, v, 204  
   battle of, vi, 166  
 Drevlians murder Igor, ii, 276  
 Dreyfus, vii, 168, 245; viii, 207  
 Drusus leads armies to Weser, ii, 67  
 Dublin, ix, 206, 257  
   revolt in, ix, 10  
   "Four Courts" surrender, ix, 199  
 Duce, Il. (See Mussolini)  
 Ducos, vi, 84  
 Ducrot, General, vii, 124  
 Duhoux, General, vi, 40  
 Duma, viii, 195  
 Dumbarton Oaks Conference, x, 254  
 Dumblane, battle of, v, 126  
 Dumouriez, General, v, 320; vi, 4, 8, 14  
 DUNCKER, MAX  
   The Olympic Games, i, 77  
 Dunkirk (Dunkerque), iv, 176; x, 144, 145, 215  
   German trap at, x, 59  
   retreat to, of British and French, x, 60-61  
   rescue ships at, x, 61-62  
   troops evacuated, 63-64  
 Duperré, Admiral, vi, 221  
 Duquesne seizes Fort Duquesne, v, 175  
 Durazzo, battle of, ii, 267  
 Dutch Republic, founded, iv, 163  
 Dwyfan and Dwyfach, i, 18

## E

Earth, bones of the, i, 18  
   the goddess, i, 44  
 Earth-inductor compass, used by Lindbergh, ix, 252  
 Earthquake, ii, 115-116  
   in Cyprus, iii, 141  
   at Lisbon, v, 185  
   in Transcaucasia, vii, 279  
   at San Francisco, viii, 175-185  
   in Messina, viii, 242  
 Eastern Empire, ii, 256  
 Eastern Europe, Fourth Century, ii, 269  
 East India Company, iv, 256, 293; vi, 242; vii, 6  
   rival, founded by German Emperor, v, 144  
   abolished, vii, 7

# INDEX

## EASTLAKE AND YOSHI-AKI

- The Battle of the Yalu, vii, 169
- East Prussia, Russians defeated in, ix, 8
  - boundaries of, after World War I, ix, 120, 126-128
- East River Tunnel, ends joined, viii, 216
- Ebbfleet, ii, 182
- Ebert, Friedrich, German president, ix, 96
  - dies, ix, 225
- Ecbatana, i, 133
- Eckener, Hugo, and *Graf Zeppelin*, ix, 257
- Eclipse of sun, i, 73
- Ecuador, one of United Nations, x, 395
- Eddystone lighthouse built, v, 66
- Eden, Anthony, ix, 307; x, 21, 26, 391
  - discusses Abyssinia question with Mussolini, ix, 305
  - against appeasement of Germany, ix, 359
  - at Moscow Conference, x, 182
- Ederle, Gertrude, swims Channel, ix, 242
- Edessa captured by Turks, ii, 350
- Edgar the Atheling, chosen King, ii, 311
- Edict of Nantes, iv, 203
  - revocation of the, iv, 331-337
- Edmund Ironside, ii, 300
- Edric, ii, 300-301
  - the traitor, ii, 298
  - treason of, ii, 301
- Edward, the Confessor, ii, 304
- Edward I. (England), iii, 64
  - takes the cross, iii, 73
  - raises siege of Acre, iii, 74
- Edward II. (England), prepares for war with Scotland, iii, 100
  - flees to Stirling, iii, 110
  - luxury of, iii, 111
- Edward III. (England), claims France, iii, 112
  - at Crécy, iii, 123
  - genius of, at Crécy, iii, 124
  - praises the Black Prince, iii, 128
  - prudence of, iii, 130
  - goes to Calais, iii, 130
- Edward VII, coronation of, vii, 313
  - death of, viii, 255
- EDWARD VIII
  - Farewell Broadcast, ix, 329
- Edward VIII, accession of, ix, 308
  - renounces throne, ix, 329-331
- Egalité, Philip, v, 315

- Egbert, King of Wessex, ii, 259
- Egmont, Count, iv, 153, 157
  - and Horn, execution of, iv, 158
- Egypt, Empire of, i, 19
  - natural defences of, i, 174
  - subjugation of, i, 176
  - wealth of, ii, 45
  - becomes a Roman province, ii, 67
  - conquered by Chosroes, ii, 204
  - attacked by Arabs, ii, 225
  - Fatimites in, ii, 346
  - first entered by Turks, ii, 350
  - taken by the Mamelukes, iii, 60
  - English-French battle of the Nile, vi, 57-68
  - restored to Turkey, vi, 90
  - becomes possession of Mehemet, vi, 231, 239, 247
  - building of Suez Canal in, vii, 109-114
  - defense of, vii, 148, 149, 150
  - Nile Dam built in, vii, 327-334
  - British Protectorate over, ix, 133-134, 198
  - General Staff killed in, ix, 225
  - endangered in World War II, x, 140, 142
  - Germans driven from, x, 136, 144-146
  - supports Australia at San Francisco, x, 395
- Egyptian, Anglo-, victories, vii, 148, 204
- Eiffel Tower built, vii, 159
- Eighteenth Amendment, goes into effect, ix, 182
  - repealed, ix, 292, 294
- Eisenhower, Gen. Dwight D.,
  - commands African invasion, x, 135
  - signs armistice with Darlan, x, 148
  - made head of North African operations, x, 171
  - announces Italy's surrender, x, 174
  - commands invasion of France, x, 216, 219-225
  - D-Days compared by, x, 226
  - Nazis surrender at headquarters of, x, 342
- El Agheila, x, 146
- El Alamein, British retreat to, x, 132, 140, 142
  - British drive from, x, 145
- Elandslaagte, battle of, vii, 257-265
- Elba, Napoleon sent to, vi, 171
  - Napoleon escapes from, vi, 172
- Eleanor, Queen, arrives in Naples, iii, 6
- Electric lighting, vi, 215; vii, 130
- Elegy for Atatürk, ix, 383
- Eleonore, Empress of Austria, iv, 322

- Elephants, in war, i, 323; ii, 7, 25; iii, 185
- Elfmar, the traitor, ii, 298
- Elgin marbles, vi, 198
- Elis, i, 78
- Elissar, i, 54
- Elizabeth, Queen of England, iv, 127
  - protects Mary Stuart, iv, 133
  - recognizes James, iv, 137
  - diplomacy of, iv, 168
  - signs Mary Stuart's death warrant, iv, 174
  - aids Henry IV. of France, iv, 199
- Elizabeth of Russia, death of, v, 198
- Ella, ii, 262
- Ellasar, i, 26
- Elliott, Sir Henry, vii, 132, 135
- Ellsworth Land, ix, 241
- Ellsworth, Lincoln, *Norge* flight of, to North Pole, ix, 227, 230-237
  - Antarctic flight of, ix, 308
- El Medinah, ii, 211
- Elmet, forest of, ii, 193
- Elsass, iv, 281; vii, 123, 127, 128
  - (See also Alsace-Lorraine)
- Elverum, Norway, evacuation to, x, 42-46, 50, 51
  - destruction of, x, 52-53
- Ely, Isle of, iii, 73
- Emancipation of the Serfs, The, vii, 25
- Emancipation of the Slaves, The, vii, 55
- Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, iv, 117
- Emden*, German cruiser, crippled, x, 41
- Emesa, battle of, ii, 147
- Emigrés, return of the, vi, 86
- Empire vs. Papacy: Henry IV. at Canossa, ii, 315
- Encyclopédie*, v, 175
- End of the Peloponnesian War: Battle of Cheronea, i, 299
- End of the Pope's Temporal Power and Unification of Italy, vii, 17
- End of Wars of the Roses, iii, 269
- Enghien, execution of the Duke d', vi, 89
- England, iii, 305
  - land of Englishmen, ii, 187
  - Danish conquest of, ii, 259, 291-304
  - Norman conquest of, ii, 305-312
  - feudalism in, ii, 331-333, 349
  - insurrection in, iii, 42, 46-47
  - Great Charter of, ii, 331; iii, 47-52, 62
- England, first Parliament of, iii, 61-63, 70
  - Barons' War in, iii, 64-69
  - Wars of, with Scotland, iii, 99-112; iv, 19-26
  - French crown claimed by, iii, 112, 199, 305
  - Battle of Crécy won by, iii, 128-130
  - Black Plague in, iii, 144
  - Battle of Agincourt won by, iii, 201-209
  - and Joan of Arc, iii, 219-225
  - War of the Roses in, iii, 254, 269-274
  - "Field of the Cloth of Gold" meeting of, iv, 53-54
  - monasteries suppressed in, iv, 89-97
  - reign of Queen Elizabeth in, iv, 125-139, 167-181, 205-212
  - Ireland conquered by, iv, 210-212
  - gunpowder plot in, iv, 295-304
  - Royalist-Parliament war in, iv, 227-243
  - Exclusion Bill passed in, iv, 317
  - Habeas Corpus* Bill passed in, iv, 319-320
  - 7 bishops tried and acquitted in, v, 1-17
  - revolution in, v, 19-26
  - Declaration of Rights by, v, 27-28
  - defeats Irish Army at Boyne, v, 33-38
  - Bank of, founded, v, 66
  - and Allies, make war on France, v, 75-88
  - Scotland unites with, v, 89
  - tired of war, v, 105
  - signs Peace of Utrecht, v, 112
  - Scotland rebels against, v, 117-131
  - religious revival in, v, 156
  - Captures Cape Breton Isle, v, 171-174
  - American expeditions of, v, 206
  - allied with Prussia in 7-years war, v, 193
  - conquers Bengal, India, v, 202
  - wins Canada from the French, v, 206-209
  - rise to empire of, v, 210
  - (See also Britain, Great Britain)
- Engle, the, ii, 189
- English, the, ii, 181, 182, 186-189
  - adventurers, iv, 169, 266
  - archers, iii, 106, 202
  - army, iii, 100-101; iv, 21
  - army, power of the, iv, 304
  - artillery, iii, 124
  - conquests of the, ii, 183
  - expelled from France, iii, 226
  - explorers, iv, 255-258; v, 210
  - fleet, iii, 44; iv, 51-52, 178; v, 55, 61
  - national debt, v, 133



# INDEX

- English, peasant rebellion under Wat Tyler, iii, 170  
 throne, claimants to the, ii, 302  
 victory at La Hogue, v, 64-65
- Enterprise*, carrier, misses attack on Pearl Harbor, x, 88  
 fliers from the, join Pearl Harbor defense, x, 96, 100  
 at Battle of Midway, x, 114  
 in Philippine Sea battle, x, 257
- Entertainments, laws regarding, i, 120
- Epaminondas, quotation from, i, 63
- Ephesus, Antony goes to, ii, 56
- Ephors, the, i, 270
- Epirus, ii, 44, 51; ix, 209, 210  
 conquest of, ii, 22
- Epp, Franz Ritter von, ix, 282
- Equality, personal, i, 243
- Erech, i, 23, 29
- Eretria, fall of, i, 211
- Erfurt, Diet of, ii, 285
- Ericsson, John, vii, 42
- Erik the Red discovers Greenland, ii, 260
- Erlon, Drouet d', General, vi, 226
- Eruption of Mont Pelée, vii, 279, 280, 289-300
- Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, ii, 131
- Eruption of Vesuvius, The, viii, 165
- Erytrea, colony of, vii, 150, 154
- Eschines, i, 301, 305
- Eschylus at Marathon, i, 218
- Eskimos, culture of, i, 7, 10
- Espartero, vii, 95, 100
- Esperance, Cape, sea battle off, x, 133
- Essen, occupation proclaimed at, ix, 200
- Essex*, carrier in Philippine Sea battle, x, 257
- Essex, Earl of, iv, 297, 300
- Estates, citizens', i, 114
- Este, Alphonso d', iv, 76
- Estonia, pact with Russia, ix, 294  
 becomes part of Soviet Union, x, 75
- Ethbaal, i, 125
- Ethelred, ii, 296  
 flight and recall, ii, 299-300  
 goes to Normandy, ii, 305
- Ethelric, King of Bernicia, ii, 194
- Ethiopia. (See Abyssinia)
- Etna, eruption of, v, 65
- Etolian League, i, 331
- Etolians join Romans, ii, 22
- Etruria, Gauls invade, i, 285
- Etruscans send to Rome for aid, i, 285
- Eudo, Count, ii, 241
- Eugene, Prince, iv, 327; v, 110, 113  
 defeats the Turks, v, 66  
 captures Belgrade, v, 131  
 meeting of, with Marlborough, v, 80  
 meeting of, with Villars, v, 113  
 advance of, v, 109
- Eugénie di Montijo, vi, 318
- Eugenius IV., iii, 136, 198
- Euphrates, Cyrus plans to turn the, i, 164
- Eure, Dupont de l', vi, 273
- Europe, last pagans in, baptized, iii, 170  
 groundwork for modern, laid, iv, 281  
 revolutionary movements in, vi, 175, 193  
 colonial development by, vii, 151  
 balance of power in, ix, 306
- Europe Completes a Cycle, x, 11**
- Eurybiades, i, 224
- Eurycles, the Lacedemonian, ii, 65
- Eurymedon, battle of, i, 232
- Evatt, Herbert Vere, Australian Foreign Minister at San Francisco, x, 393, 395
- Evesham, battle of, iii, 70, 72
- Ewa, air base at, x, 93, 94
- Ewell, General, vii, 68, 69, 72
- Exclusion Bill, iv, 317
- Exclusion Bill and Habeas Corpus Act, The, iv, 317**
- Execution of Marino Faliero, iii, 155
- Execution of Savonarola, The, iii, 327
- Exhibition of 1851, vi, 289-296
- Exhibitions, French, vi, 290  
 American, viii, 141
- Exmouth, Lord, vi, 198, 219
- Expedition of the Ten Thousand, i, 269**
- Exploration, voyages of, Columbus, iii, 293-303  
 by Vasco da Gama, iii, 317-326  
 by Magellan, iv, 39-48  
 by Henry Hudson, iv, 246-247, 255-258  
 by Sir Walter Raleigh, iv, 264  
 by Captain James Cook, v, 221-225  
 by Sir John Franklin, vi, 251-257  
 (See also Antarctic Exploration; North Pole)
- Expulsion of Queen Isabella, The, vii, 93**
- Expulsion of the Peisistratæ, i, 183**
- Expulsion of the Tarquins, i, 195**
- Eylau, battle of, vi, 116

F

- Faber, Peter, iv, 101  
 Fabianus, martyrdom of, ii, 116  
 Fabii, the, i, 285  
 Fabius, i, 237  
 Faidherbe, General, vii, 124, 125  
 Fairfax, iv, 302  
 Faliero, iii, 155-160  
 Falkenhayn, General von, ix, 11  
 Falkirk, battle of, v, 169  
 Fall, Albert B., in oil lease cases, ix, 256  
 Fall of Babylon, The, i, 163  
 Fall of Carthage, The, ii, 23  
 Fall of Constantinople, iii, 227  
 Fall of Greece, The, ii, 37  
 Fall of The Decemvirate, i, 235  
 Fall of Tyre and the Siege of Jerusalem, i, 123  
 Fall of Zenobia and Palmyra, ii, 143  
 Fallières, viii, 154  
 Family Compact, the, v, 198  
 Famine, army crusaders', ii, 345  
*Fanshaw Bay*, Admiral Sprague's flagship, x, 292  
 Farel, iv, 28  
 Farewell Broadcast of Edward VIII., The, ix, 329  
 Farewell Pilgrimage and Mecca, ii, 213  
 Farewell to F.D.R., x, 333  
 Farnese, Alexander, iv, 163  
 Farouk I, of Egypt, ix, 308  
 Farragut, vii, 30  
 FARRAR, FREDERIC W.  
     The Crucifixion, ii, 91  
     The Nativity of Christ, ii, 69  
 Fascism, Italian, causes of, ix, 298-299  
     expansion policies of, ix, 301, 317  
     backs Franco regime in Spain, ix, 312, 313, 318  
     Powers opposed to, ix, 319-321, 356  
     and the United States, ix, 323-327  
     democracy against, ix, 356; x, 26-27  
     (See also Mussolini)  
 Fascist, uprisings in Italy, ix, 199  
     Premier Mussolini comes to power, ix, 200  
     propaganda, a problem, ix, 315  
     salute, x, 181  
     symbols, x, 348  
 Father, power of the, i, 242  
 Fatimites, the, defend Jerusalem, ii, 346  
 Fatrah, the, ii, 208  
 Favre, vii, 127  
 Fawkes, Guy (Guido), iv, 235-240  
 FAY, SIDNEY B.  
     The Hitler Dictatorship, ix, 279  
     The First "Second Front," x, 135  
 FAYANT, FRANK  
     The Nile Dam at Assouan, vii, 327  
 Fazl, Abdul, on persecution, iv, 115  
 Fealty, ii, 329  
 Feisal II., King of Iraq, ix, 381  
 Fen Country, the, ii, 193  
 Fengtien, province of, ix, 262  
 Feng Yu-hsiang, takes Peking, ix, 225  
 Fenian rising in Great Britain, vii, 92  
 Fenians, vii, 84  
 Feodor, ii, 266  
 Ferdinand (Emperor), death of, iv, 280  
 Ferdinand of Aragon, iii, 268  
     musters troops, iii, 275  
     suppresses the Moors, iii, 348  
 Ferdinand of Aragon, and Isabella receive keys of the Alhambra, iii, 280-281  
 Ferdinand I. of Naples, vi, 194  
 Ferdinand II. of Naples, vii, 17  
 Ferdinand I. of Roumania, dies, ix, 256  
 Ferdinand VII. of Spain, vi, 186  
 Ferdinand, Duke of Styria, emperor, iv, 269  
 Ferdinand of Talavera, iii, 339  
 FERISHTA, MAHUMMUD CASIM  
     The Invasion of Tamerlane, iii, 179  
 Feudal baron, the, ii, 327; iii, 49  
 Feudal system, origin of, ii, 327  
     established in England, ii, 349  
     tenure, ii, 329-331  
     principles, universality of, ii, 332  
     in South of France, iii, 39  
     abolished in Japan, vii, 108  
 Feuillants, the, v, 319; vi, 15  
 Field, Cyrus, vii, 88  
 Field of the Cloth of Gold, iv, 49  
 Field of the Cloth of Gold, iv, 54  
 Fifth Column, in Norway, x, 39  
     at Pearl Harbor, x, 94  
 Fifty Years' War, i, 257  
 Fight Between the "Monitor" and the "Merrimac," The, vii, 41

# INDEX

- Finland, province of Sweden, v, 93  
 privileges of, under Russian rule, vii, 39  
 Constitution granted to, viii, 127  
 Russia agrees to evacuate, ix, 92  
 pact of, with Oslo States, x, 25  
 at war with Russia, x, 27  
 Russian war of, studied in Norway, x, 29, 34,  
 37, 44  
 joins Nazis in World War II, x, 85  
 declares war on Germany, x, 313
- FINNEY, BURNHAM**  
 The Miracle of American Production, x, 203
- Fire, first use of, i, 4-5  
 Fire-worship, i, 33  
 First Consul, The, vi, 83  
 First Crusade, The, ii, 335  
 First Destruction of Nineveh, i, 71  
 First Jacobite Rebellion, The, v, 117  
 First Nonstop Flight, The, ix, 179  
 First Russian Parliament, The, viii, 195  
 First "Second Front," The, x, 135  
 First Voyage Around the World, iv, 39  
 Fismes, taken by Americans, ix, 26  
 Fitzmaurice, James E., transatlantic flight of,  
 ix, 256  
 Fiume, ix, 111, 161, 183  
 acquired by Italy, ix, 182, 224  
 Five-Year Plan, Russia's, ix, 274  
 Flagellants, the, iii, 148  
 Flamen Quirinalis, i, 289, 291  
 Flame-throwers, x, 187, 329  
 Flanders, joins Crusade, iii, 13  
 invaded by the French, vi, 4  
 Fleming, Dr. A., penicillin discovered by, x,  
 194-196  
 Fleming, Captain Richard, damages Jap cruiser  
 in Battle of Midway, x, 128, 129  
 Flemish refugees in England, iv, 155-156  
 Fleurus, battle of, v, 41  
 Flight of the NC-Boats, ix, 167  
 Flint implements, early use of, i, 8  
 Flodden Field, battle of, iv, 19-26  
 Flodden Ridge, iv, 19  
 Floods, in Mississippi Valley, viii, 311  
 Florence, Republic of, Black Plague in, iii, 144,  
 145; iv, 60  
 influence of the Medici on, iii, 175-176, 308,  
 310; iv, 10-12, 58  
 loses Pisa, iii, 311
- Charles VIII. of France in, iii, 312  
 reformation of, by Savonarola, iii, 328-329  
 a refuge for liberalism, vi, 190
- Florey, Dr., penicillin growth developed by, x,  
 195  
 use of penicillin described by, x, 198-199
- Florida Purchase, vi, 187
- Flying Fortress, in Battle of Midway, x, 122,  
 125, 128, 129
- Foch, Ferdinand, Allied Commander in Chief  
 in World War I., ix, 92-93  
 receives armistice delegates, ix, 95; x, 343  
 death of, ix, 257
- Foertsch, Lieut. Gen. Hermann, surrender of,  
 x, 351
- Fonck, René, ix, 245
- Food, preparation of, by fire, i, 5
- Food Bill, Pure, viii, 16, 162
- Force Laws, vii, 92
- Ford Castle demolished, iv, 19
- Ford Island, x, 103  
 Navy airfield on, attacked by Japanese, x,  
 94, 95-96, 97
- Formosa Island, closed to foreign ships, viii, 87  
 colony of Japan, ix, 276; x, 259
- Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, on 2d Battle  
 of the Philippines, x, 300
- Fort Duquesne, built by French, v, 177  
 Braddock defeated near, v, 181-183  
 captured by Washington, v, 207
- Fort Edward, v, 282, 284
- Fort Niagara captured, v, 207
- Fort St. Elmo, attacked, iv, 142  
 falls, iv, 144
- Forth Bridge, vii, 159
- Forum, the, i, 283, 291, 292
- Foscari deposed, iii, 254-255
- Fouché, vi, 182
- Founding of Carthage, The, i, 53
- Founding of Chaldea, The, i, 21
- Founding of Constantinople, The,  
 ii, 153
- Founding of Rome, The, i, 87
- Four-Power Treaty, ix, 197
- Fourteen Points, The, ix, 39
- Fourth Crusade, The, iii, 11
- Four Years of Hitlerism, ix, 333
- Fram*, in Antarctic exploration, viii, 319

France, invaded by the Arabs, ii, 238  
 Arabs defeated in, ii, 242-245  
 the Albigenses crushed in Southern, iii, 33-39  
 John of England in, iii, 45-46  
 invaded by the English, iii, 170, 202  
 claimed by Henry V. of England, iii, 199  
 condition of, iii, 211  
 Joan of Arc saves, from the English, iii, 225  
 Kingdom of, united, iii, 305-306  
 Charles VIII. of, invades Italy, iii, 307  
 declares war against Venice, iv, 2  
 campaigns of, in Italy, iv, 8-9, 59-62, 72-74  
 "Field of the Cloth of Gold" in, iv, 49-55  
 abandons Italy to Spain, iv, 75  
 religious wars in, iv, 183-184, 189-203  
 Huguenot massacre in, iv, 185-187  
 part of, in 30 years' war, iv, 280  
 Protestants persecuted in, iv, 334-337  
 ambitions of Louis XIV. for, v, 71-72  
 succession crisis in, v, 106-107  
 declares war on England and Austria, v, 169  
 loses Cape Breton to the English, v, 173, 206  
 in Seven Years' War, v, 193, 195, 196  
 Canada lost by, v, 209  
 recognizes the United States, v, 293  
 debt of, v, 313  
 fall of the Bastille in, v, 323-334  
 becomes a Republic, vi, i  
 invades Flanders, vi, 4  
 invaded by Allied armies, vi, 6-7  
 wins battle of Valmy, vi, 14  
 reign of terror in, vi, 15-28  
 the Directoire formed in, vi, 29-31  
 Napoleon First Consul of, vi, 84, 87  
 First Empire of, vi, 89, 119  
 loses Napoleonic Conquests, vi, 171, 175  
 under Louis XVIII., vi, 179, 181, 184, 186  
 revolution of 1848 in, vi, 269-273  
 Second Republic of, vi, 274-275, 311-316  
 Second Empire of, vi, 317-320  
 and England in war against Russia, vi, 329-356  
 alliance of, with Piedmont, vii, 9  
 attempts of, to found Mexican Empire, vii, 47-53  
 declares war on Prussia, vii, 118  
 invaded by German armies, vii, 120-121  
 surrenders Paris to the Germans (1871), vii, 127

France, Third Republic of, vii, 129  
 separation of Church and State in, viii, 129-133  
 enters World War I, ix, 5  
 Czechoslovakia recognized by, ix, 79  
 regains Alsace-Lorraine and the Sarre, ix, 121-123  
 postwar treaties signed by, ix, 215, 216, 260, 278, 308, 344  
 Manchurian policy of, ix, 274-275, 365, 374, 376  
 policy of, toward Italy, ix, 301-302, 305, 319; x, 20  
 during Spanish civil war, ix, 313, 319-320  
 relations of, with Nazi Germany, ix, 340, 349  
 betrayal of Czechoslovakia by, ix, 355, 362  
 and Poland, x, 6-7, 12, 16, 17  
 Russian pacts of, x, 12, 394  
 alliance of, with Britain, x, 19-20  
 forces of, trapped at Dunkirk, x, 59, 61  
 signs armistice with Germany, x, 64  
 evacuation of Paris, x, 65-74  
 government of, moves to Vichy, x, 75  
 invasion of, by the Allies, x, 215-248  
 Southern, invaded, x, 249  
 V-Day in Paris, x, 251-254  
 joins the United Nations, x, 312  
 German surrender signed in, x, 342-344  
 joins in control of Germany, x, 386  
 (See also French)  
 Franche-Comté, iii, 257, 263  
 Francis I., of Lorraine, v, 166, 169  
 Francis I., takes Milan, iv, 61  
 at Field of the Cloth of Gold, iv, 53, 54  
 Titian's portrait of, iv, 53  
 persecutes the Vaudois, iv, 109  
 Francis Ferdinand, assassinated, viii, 382  
 life and character of, ix, 1-4  
 Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, vii, 15  
 death of, ix, 12  
 supports Magyars, ix, 83  
 Franciscan Order of Mendicant Friars, iii, 21  
 Franco-German War, The, vii, 117  
 Franconians and Saxons, convention of, ii, 279  
 Franco, Francisco, ix, 311, 312, 313, 318  
 proclaimed dictator, ix, 328  
 establishes fascist government, ix, 343  
 regime in Spain recognized, ix, 380, 381  
 anti-Communist declaration of, x, 24

# INDEX

- Frankfort, Declaration of, vi, 171  
 fairs at, vi, 289  
 Treaty of, vii, 128; ix, 121  
 city of, taken by Allies, x, 331
- Franklin, Benjamin, v, 218, 250  
 Bicentenary of, viii, 174
- Franklin, Sir John, vi, 249
- Franks, invasions by, ii, 142
- Franz, Grand Duke, v, 151, 152
- Frateschi, the, iii, 330
- Fredenhall, Major Gen. Lloyd R.,  
 commands American troops invading North  
 Africa, x, 148
- Frederic I., ii, 350
- Frederick I., Barbarossa, iii, 2  
 starts for the Holy Land, iii, 2  
 death of, iii, 3  
 legendary resting-place of, iii, 3  
 chastises Romans, iii, 132
- Frederick II., Emperor, iii, 116  
 heads Fifth Crusade, iii, 60
- Frederick I., of Schleswig-Holstein, becomes  
 King of Denmark, iv, 87
- Frederick VIII., of Denmark, viii, 154
- Frederick I., of Prussia, v, 67
- Frederick II., of Prussia (the Great), v, 167,  
 193; ix, 285; x, 354  
 comes to the throne, v, 164  
 invades Saxony, v, 194  
 invades Bohemia, v, 194  
 successes of, v, 204  
 misfortunes of, v, 204  
 and Joseph, v, 240
- Frederick, of Naples, iii, 309
- Frederick, of Sicily, iii, 41
- Frederick II., of Sicily, iii, 77
- Frederick, of Swabia, iii, 3, 56
- Frederick V., the Elector Palatine, iv, 270
- Frederick William III., vi, 178, 180
- Free French, declare war on Japan, x, 110  
 in Paris, x, 251
- Free Trade, beginning of, vi, 233-238
- FREEMAN, EDWARD AUGUSTUS  
 The Reign of Akbar, iv, 111  
 Social and Mithridatic Wars, ii, 45
- French, fleet destroyed at Damme, iii, 44  
 army at Crécy, iii, 123  
 lack of discipline, iii, 125  
 army, flight of, iii, 128
- French, losses at Crécy, iii, 129  
 peasantry, rising of the, iii, 162-163  
 nobility defeat and massacre peasants, iii,  
 167-170  
 at Agincourt, iii, 205  
 losses at Agincourt, iii, 206  
 defeat Duke of Burgandy at Nancy, iii, 263-  
 265  
 lose conquests in Italy, iii, 316; iv, 9  
 panic of the, iv, 62  
 losses at St. Quentin, iv, 118  
 retake Calais from the English, iv, 121-122  
 opposition to the court, iv, 308-309  
 fleet defeated by the English, v, 60-64  
 successes of the, under Louis XIV., v, 75-76  
 cavalry routed, v, 86-87  
 army destroyed at Blenheim, v, 88  
 Revolution, beginning of the, v, 321  
 army, condition of the (1792), vi, 2, 5  
 invade Ireland, vi, 55  
 fleet defeated at Aboukir, Egypt, vi, 67-68, 71  
 armies repulsed at Acre, vi, 78-80  
 victories under Napoleon, vi, 85-86, 109-110,  
 113-118  
 invasion of England, failure of, vi, 105-107  
 sea power, end of, vi, 111  
 armies of Napoleon defeated in Russia, vi,  
 126-138  
 defeated at Vittoria, vi, 147-151  
 Emperor Napoleon's downfall, vi, 165-175  
 Charter, vi, 179, 182-183  
 occupation of Spain, vi, 196-197  
 exhibitions of art and industry, vi, 290  
 defeat Austria in Italy, vii, 13  
 engineer solves Suez Canal difficulties, vii,  
 112-114  
 armies defeated by Germany (1871), vii,  
 120-127  
 claims in Morocco, conference on, viii, 147-  
 153  
 contributions to aeronautics, viii, 356-357,  
 362-363, 369, 371  
 operations with A.E.F. in World War I, ix,  
 23-37  
 occupation of German districts, ix, 200, 225,  
 258  
 naval tonnage limitations, ix, 192, 194, 196  
 agree to fund war debt, ix, 242  
 refugees from Paris, x, 65-74

French, suspicion of Great Britain, x, 147  
 opposition to North African invasion, x, 148  
 Forces of the Interior, x, 110, 251  
 Provisional Government, x, 388  
 French, Major General, vii, 257  
 "French Fury," the, iv, 164  
**French Revolution of 1848, The**, vi, 269  
 Friedeburg, Gen. Admiral Hans Georg von,  
 negotiates the German surrender, x, 343-  
 344; 349-350  
 Friedland, battle of, vi, 116  
 Friedrichshaven, *Graf Zeppelin* leaves, ix, 257  
 Frimont, General, vi, 194  
 Frisch, Dr. O., German scientist, x, 407  
 Frisian Islands, Nazis surrender in, x, 347, 349  
 Fronde, end of the, iv, 315  
 Frondeurs, the, iv, 309  
**FROUDE, JAMES ANTHONY**  
 The Reformation in Scotland, iv, 125  
 Frundsberg, George de, iv, 67  
 Fulk of Neuilly preaches Fourth Crusade, iii, 12  
 Fulton, Robert, vi, 91, 300  
 precursors of, vi, 95  
 Furst of Uri, iii, 92  
 Furst of Altinghausen, iii, 92  
*Fuso*, Japanese battleship, in Philippine Sea bat-  
 tle, x, 263, 271, 275  
**FYFFE, CHARLES ALAN**  
 The Battle of Trafalgar, vi, 105  
 The Moscow Campaign, vi, 121

**G**

Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, v, 258  
 Galba, Emperor of Rome, ii, 118  
 Galen, Count Clemens von, Bishop of Muenster,  
 resents Allied bombings, x, 361, 368  
 Galerius, ii, 118, 154  
 edict of, ii, 118  
 Galicia, vi, 122; under Austrian rule, ix, 58  
 Poland gets 25-year mandate over, ix, 182  
 Eastern, Czechoslovakia drops claim to, x, 13  
 Galileo, iv, 293  
 Galliano, Major, vii, 155  
 Gallican Church, iii, 226  
 Gallienus, ii, 117, 142  
 Gallipoli, ix, 9, 10, 385  
 first Turkish foothold in Europe, iii, 154  
 Gamarra, Major, capture of, vi, 147

*Gambier Bay*, sinking of, in Philippine Sea Bat-  
 tle, x, 289-291  
 Captain and crew of, rescued, x, 300  
 Games, laws regarding, i, 118  
 Gandhi, Mahatma, arrested by British, ix, 199  
 disobedience campaigns of, ix, 258; x, 133  
 Ganges, Tamerlane reaches, iii, 188  
 Gapon, Father, viii, 162  
 Garcia, Manuel, viii, 86  
**GARDINER, SAMUEL RAWSON**  
 The Colonization of Virginia, iv, 213  
 Garibaldi, vii, 10, 14, 15, 19, 20, 126  
 Garner, John Nance, ix, 278, 309, 328  
 Gas-lighting, vi, 215  
 Gaston, Duke of Orleans, iv, 312  
 Gaston de Foix, Duc de Nemours, iv, 7  
 Gaston Phœbus, Count of Foix, iii, 167  
 Gatacre, General, vii, 230  
 Gates, General, v, 287  
 Gates, Sir Thomas, iv, 222, 224  
 Gatun Dam, viii, 324, 325  
 Gaul, ii, 194, 195  
 Cisalpine, i, 332  
 Transalpine, ii, 44  
 Cæsar's conquests in, ii, 51  
 Gauls, invade Rome, i, 288  
 invade Etruria, i, 285  
 grievances of the, i, 286  
 victory of the, i, 287  
 defeated by Camillus, i, 296  
 repulsed, i, 295  
**Gauls' First Attack on Rome, The**, i, 235  
 Gaumata, i, 181  
 Gautama, birth of, i, 99  
 flight of, i, 102  
 temptations of, i, 103  
 disciples of, i, 104, 107  
**Gautama Buddha**, i, 99  
**GAUTIER, JULES**  
 Rise and Fall of the Mexican Empire, vii, 47  
 Gay, Ensign George, only survivor of *Torpedo*  
 8, x, 116  
 views Battle of Midway from the sea, x, 117,  
 118, 126, 127  
**GAYN, MARK**  
 Terror in Japan, x, 371  
**GEDDIE, JOHN**  
 The Great Siberian Railway, vii, 161  
 Geese save Rome, i, 295

# INDEX

- Gelaeddin, heroism of, iii, 30  
 Gelimer, King of the Vandals, ii, 198  
 Gemblours, battle of, iv, 162  
 Geneva, x, 389  
   John Calvin in, iv, 37  
   Convention, vi, 337; vii, 251, 253, 254  
   Court of Arbitration, vii, 129  
   seat of the League of Nations, ix, 115  
   World Disarmament Conference at, ix, 259  
 Genoa, iv, 6, 77; v, 237; vii, 19  
   victorious over Pisa, iii, 82  
   and Venice, iii, 155-156  
   Jewish refugees in, iii, 290-291  
   French driven from, iv, 9  
   Spaniards capture and pillage, iv, 59-60  
   freedom of, restored, iv, 74, 79-81  
   Constitution of, iv, 82-84  
   illustrious families of, iv, 85  
 Genoese, at Crécy, iii, 125, 126  
   fleet, iv, 81  
 Genseric, the Vandal, ii, 166  
   conquers North Africa, ii, 169  
   sacks Rome, ii, 194  
   carries spoils to Carthage, ii, 198  
 "Gentleman's Magazine," v, 145  
 Geok-Tepe captured, vii, 144  
 George III., of England, v, 213, 223  
   Bonaparte proposes peace to, vi, 84  
 George V., signs Irish Constitution, ix, 200  
   opens London Naval Conference, ix, 258  
   jubilee of, ix, 307  
   dies, ix, 308  
 George VI., reign of, begins, ix, 331  
   crowned King of Great Britain, ix, 344  
   visits Canada, ix, 392  
 George I., King of Greece, vii, 30  
 George II., becomes Greek king, ix, 199  
   exiled, ix, 217  
   appoints Damoskinos Regent, x, 312  
 George, David Lloyd  
   (See Lloyd George, David)  
 Georgia, conquered by the Turks, ii, 334  
 Georgia, founded, v, 145  
 Gepidæ kingdom, destroyed, ii, 204  
 Gerard, Balthasar, assassinates William of  
   Orange, iv, 164  
 Gerberge, daughter of Henry I., ii, 280  
 German army, the, vii, 119  
   in France, vii, 121, 129  
 German army, rapacity of, in Venice, iv, 3  
   cruelty of the, iv, 4  
 German Confederation, vii, 127  
 German crusade, iii, 58  
 German Memorial Day, ix, 281  
 German National Assembly, at Weimar, ix, 96  
 Germanicus, successes of, ii, 89  
   death of, ii, 89  
 German, ferocity, ii, 86  
   kings become Roman Emperors also, ii, 289  
   merchants and towns form unions, iii, 113-121  
   Protestants, iv, 100, 104, 106, 270  
   mercenary troops, iv, 117; v, 284, 290, 296  
   princes break with Austria, v, 112  
   Confederations, vi, 114; vii, 127  
   Empire, army of, vi, 170  
   National Parliament, vi, 285-286  
   forces take Paris (1871), vii, 127-128  
   anti-Semitic League, vii, 339  
   troops invade Belgium (1914), ix, 5  
   submarine sinks *Lusitania*, ix, 9  
   mutiny at Kiel, ix, 92  
   retreat begins (1918), ix, 94  
   boundaries after World War I, ix, 119-120  
   reparations, ix, 141-150, 201  
   responsibility for World War II, x, 1-6  
   military successes, x, 38, 61, 64, 76, 132, 140  
   submarine warfare, x, 138  
   reverses in Italy, x, 172, 177-181, 182, 214, 339  
   reverses on the Eastern Front, x, 214, 254, 312, 313, 331, 339, 356  
   reverses on the Western Front, x, 226, 227, 234, 243-244, 249, 254, 255, 312, 313, 330, 331, 339  
   rockets bomb London, x, 249  
   *Volksstrum* formed, x, 254  
   V-2 rocket bombs London, x, 312  
   General Staff headquarters, x, 355-356  
   re-education, need for, x, 362, 363, 366-369  
 Germany, Romans driven from, ii, 87  
   united under Henry I., ii, 280  
   national feeling in, ii, 289  
   Saxon revolt in, put down, ii, 315-316  
   Henry IV. of, at war with Pope, ii, 323  
   papal supremacy established over, ii, 326  
   Teutonic Knights in, iii, 56-60  
   Black Plague in, iii, 144, 145

Germany, under Emperor Sigismund, iii, 191-199  
 Reformation of Luther in, iv, 30-38, 75  
 under Charles V., conquers Italy, iv, 57-77  
 30-year religious war in, iv, 269-280  
 conditions in, after 30 year's war, iv, 281  
 House of Austria in, iv, 321; v, 70, 165-169  
 delivered from France, v, 88  
 7 Years' War in, v, 193-199, 203-204  
 re-creation of unity in, v, 204, 209  
 France invaded by, v, 320; vi, 6-7  
 defeated by French, vi, 13-14  
 invaded by Napoleon, vi, 107-108  
 under Napoleon's domination, vi, 114, 121-122  
 at end of Napoleonic wars, vi, 175  
 reaction in, to Holy Alliance, vi, 179-181  
 Revolution of 1848 in, vi, 278-280, 284  
 causes of 1870 war with France, vii, 117-119  
 invades and defeats France, vii, 120-122  
 unites and names first Emperor, vii, 127  
 assumes first place in Europe, vii, 128-129  
 dispute of, and France over Morocco, viii, 147, 152, 153, 242, 290, 291  
 expands Navy, viii, 311  
 influence of, in Europe, viii, 378  
 begins World War I, ix, 5, 6  
 signs armistice, ix, 95  
 Friedrich Ebert first president of, ix, 96, 225  
 peace terms for, ix, 113-166  
 signs Versailles Treaty, ix, 182  
 Hindenburg, president of, ix, 226, 259  
 admitted to League of Nations, ix, 242  
 granted equality of arms, ix, 278  
 Nazis win Reichstag election in, ix, 279  
 swastika flag adopted by, ix, 281, 307  
 Hitler becomes dictator of, ix, 286, 293  
 regains the Saar, ix, 295, 307  
 troops of, occupy the Rhineland, ix, 308  
 policies of, a European problem, ix, 312-321  
 National Socialism in, ix, 333-343  
 annexes Austria, ix, 344  
 eastern conquests planned by, ix, 347-354  
 demands of, granted at Munich, ix, 355-362  
 seizes Czechoslovakia, ix, 380  
 begins World War II, x, 6  
 non-aggression pact of, with Poland, x, 12  
 Russian pact of, x, 22  
 invades Denmark and Norway, x, 27

Germany, invades Belgium, Holland, France, x, 64  
 invades Russia, x, 76, 77-85  
 at war with the United States, x, 110  
 defeat of, in Africa, x, 144-146, 171  
 defeat of, at Stalingrad, x, 151-171  
 invaded by the Allies, x, 254  
 surrenders to the Allies, x, 342-345, 347-348, 349-350, 351, 354  
 conditions in, after surrender, x, 354-355, 357-362, 365  
 anti-Nazis in, x, 360-362, 366  
 problems of Allied occupation of, x, 364-369  
 Big Four take control of, x, 386  
 (*See also* Germans, Nazis)  
 GERRITZ, HESSEL  
 Hudson's Last Voyage, iv, 255  
 Gessler, bailiff, of Uri, iii, 92  
 and William Tell, iii, 92-93  
 Gestapo, x, 345, 360  
 Gettysburg, description of, vii, 66  
 battle of, vii, 65-80  
 Gewissas, the, ii, 190  
 Ghazi, King of Iraq, dies, ix, 381  
 Ghent, pacification of, iv, 162, 163  
 Ghezzar Oglou, vi, 75, 77, 79  
 GIBBON, EDWARD  
 The Arab Conquest of Spain, ii, 227  
 The Conquest of Persia, ii, 217  
 Fall of Zenobia and Palmyra, ii, 143  
 Invasion of Italy by Attila, Foundation of the Republic of Venice and Destruction of Attila's Empire, ii, 171  
 Conquests of Zingis Khan, iii, 23  
 The Fall of Constantinople, iii, 227  
 G.I. Bill of Rights signed, x, 249  
 Gibraltar, ii, 230; x, 226  
 acquired by England, v, 67, 112  
 Giesing, Major Erwin, on Hitler's health, x, 353-354  
 Gifford, Walter S., ix, 255, 256  
 Gilbert Islands, x, 259, 411  
 taken by U. S. Marines, x, 182  
 Giolitti, vii, 153  
 Girondists, the, v, 319  
 clemency of, vi, 42  
 Gisborne, Mr., vii, 87  
 Giselbert, Duke of Lorraine, ii, 280  
 Giunta, the, iii, 159



# INDEX

- Glacidas. (*See* Gladsdale, Sir William)
- Gladsdale, Sir John, at Orleans, iii, 222
- Gladsdale, Sir William, at Orleans, iii, 219, 224
- Gladstone, vii, 17, 131, 133
- Glanvill, Ranulf, iii, 4
- Glencoe (Scotland), Massacre at, v, 43-54  
(South Africa), Boers defeated at, vii, 245
- Gliders, viii, 364, 368-369; x, 225
- Glorious*, British carrier, sunk off Norway, x, 118
- Glorious Revolution, The**, v, 19
- Glorious Revolution in Serbia, A**, vii, 347
- Gloucester, ii, 191  
siege of, iv, 299
- Gneisenau*, German battleship, disabled, x, 39
- Godesberg Conference, ix, 345, 356, 360
- Godfrey de Bouillon, ii, 338-339, 342, 348  
in Jerusalem, ii, 349
- Goebbels, Paul Joseph, Chief of Nazi propaganda, ix, 290, 334  
work of, ix, 291; x, 363, 364  
anti-Roosevelt speech of, ix, 357  
body of, thought found, x, 353
- Goering, Hermann von, ix, 354, 356  
Nazi ruler of Prussia, ix, 283  
Nazis want premiership for, ix, 284  
Nazi Minister of Aviation, ix, 334, 349  
Hitler's chief executive, ix, 337
- Goethals, G. W., digs Panama Canal, viii, 327  
heads shipbuilding program, ix, 18
- Gold, discovered in California, vi, 259-268  
in the Klondike, vii, 204  
in the Transvaal, vii, 158
- Golden Book, the, iv, 82, 84
- Golden Dragon of Wessex, the, ii, 308
- Golden Rule, Confucius's, i, 149
- Goletta, fortress of, ii, 36
- Golgotha, description of, ii, 95
- Golossa, ii, 29
- Gomez, Jose Miguel, viii, 242
- Gondomar, iv, 263
- Gondy, Jean Paul de, iv, 309, 312
- Gonzaga, Frederick de, iv, 76
- Gordon Riots, the, v, 294
- Gore, Graham, discovers Northwest passage, vi, 256
- Gorges, Sir, F., iv, 214
- Gorm, King of the Danes, ii, 283, 284
- Gort, General Lord "Tiger," x, 60
- Gortchakoff, Prince, vi, 342; vii, 33, 38
- Gosnold, Bartholomew, iv, 213, 217
- Gothic monarchy, ii, 228, 231, 232
- Goths, attack Asia Minor and Greece, ii, 142  
invade the Empire, ii, 142  
invade Illyricum, ii, 156  
cross the Danube, ii, 168  
enter Gaul, ii, 169  
conquered by Clovis, ii, 195  
battles with Belisarius, ii, 199  
take Rome, ii, 200  
and Saracens, ii, 227  
degeneracy of the, ii, 228  
defeat of the, ii, 232  
in Scythia, ii, 269
- Gracchi, the, ii, 47
- Gracchus, Tiberius, the Younger, ii, 31
- GRAETZ, HENRICH**  
The Siege of Jerusalem, ii, 119
- Graf Spec*, incident of, x, 27, 30
- Graf Zeppelin*, ix, 257
- Grammar, beginnings of, i, 3
- Gran, capture of, iv, 328
- Granada, conquered by the Almohades, ii, 350  
kingdom of, founded, iii, 60  
siege of, by Spain, iii, 275-280  
fall of, iii, 279-282  
persecution of the Moors in, iii, 341-342, 345, 347  
Inquisition established in, iii, 348
- Granicus, battle of the, i, 311
- GRANT, JAMES**  
Braddock's Defeat, v, 177
- Grant, Ulysses S., vii, 54, 80
- Granvella, Cardinal, iv, 152
- Grauert, Nazi Air General, x, 62
- Great Britain, vi, 43; vii, 158, 254; ix, 215  
reforms in, started by John Wilkes, v, 214-215  
coercion acts of, against American Colonies, v, 216-217, 218, 253  
trade of, with American Colonies, v, 262  
and American Colonies, war starts between, v, 268-269  
defeat of, in America, v, 279-301  
recognizes United States independence, v, 294  
conquers Mysore, India, v, 335-340  
defeats French fleet, Aboukir Bay, vi, 57-68

Great Britain, aids Turks against France, vi, 73-77  
 drives Bonaparte's army from Egypt, vi, 86  
 repulses French invasion attempts, vi, 88, 105-107  
 wins naval battle of Trafalgar, vi, 111  
 aids in defeating French in Spain, vi, 144-151  
 loses battle of Lake Erie to the U. S., vi, 161-163  
 share of, in crushing Bonaparte, vi, 177  
 constitution of, a model for nations, vi, 179  
 protests use of force, vi, 194, 196  
 recognizes independence of Spanish colonies, vi, 197  
 and Greece, vi, 206-207, 208, 210-211  
 start of free trade in, vi, 233-238  
 embassies of, to China, vi, 242  
 wars of, with China, vi, 243-244, 246  
 Great Exhibition in, vi, 290-298  
 concludes convention with Japan, vi, 328  
 in the Crimean War, vi, 329-343, 347-355  
 assumes government of India, vii, 6  
 intervenes in Russo-Turkish controversy, vii, 135-138  
 battles of, in Egypt, vii, 146-148, 220-233  
 in the Boer War, vii, 257-265  
 Edward VII., king of, vii, 313-326; viii, 257-263  
 development of Egypt by, vii, 329-334  
 launches first modern battleship, viii, 155-157  
 enters World War I, ix, 5, 6, 7  
 recognizes free Czechoslovakia, ix, 79, 84  
 treaty of, with Irish Free State, ix, 185-190  
 naval limitations of, ix, 191, 192, 196  
 Sino-Japanese conflict and, ix, 275-276, 365, 374, 376, 377  
 policy of, toward Italy, ix, 301, 302-306, 317  
 rearmament of, ix, 321-322; x, 19, 20  
 Edward VIII. of, abdicates, ix, 329-331  
 reassured by Hitler's promises, ix, 348  
 appeasement policy of, at Munich, ix, 355-362; x, 17-18  
 recognizes Franco Spain, ix, 380  
 efforts of, for peace, x, 1-7  
 war preparations of, x, 7-9  
 assistance pact of, with Poland, x, 17  
 relations of, with France, x, 19-20  
 rescues forces from Dunkirk, x, 59-64

Great Britain, Churchill becomes Prime Minister of, x, 64  
 attacks French fleet at Oran, x, 75  
 signs mutual-aid pact with Russia, x, 85  
 declares war on Japan, x, 110  
 8th Army of, in Africa, x, 132, 133, 140, 142-146  
 fleet at Salerno, x, 175-178  
 in French invasion, x, 229, 230, 246  
 attacked by robot bombs, x, 249  
 attacked by V-2 bombs, x, 312  
 troops of, take Mandalay, x, 330  
 and Allies receive Nazi surrender, x, 344, 348-350  
 Attlee becomes Prime Minister of, x, 402  
 represented at Japanese surrender, x, 414, 415  
 (See also Britain, England, English)  
 Great Divorce in France, The, viii, 129  
 Great Earthquake at Lisbon, The, v, 185  
 Great Eastern, the, vii, 88, 91  
 Great Eastern, train wreck, viii, 121  
 Great Exhibition, The, vi, 289  
 Great Siberian Railway, The, vii, 161  
 Great Triumphs of Napoleon, The, vi, 113  
 Greece, vii, 141, 204; ix, 113, 226; x, 78  
 Delphic oracle in, i, 46-51  
 Olympic games in, i, 77-85  
 sends embassy to Persia, i, 193  
 fall of, ii, 37-42  
 becomes a Roman province, ii, 43  
 Emperor of, pays tribute to Russia, ii, 276  
 Empire of, iii, 12  
 conquered by Mohammed II., iii, 254  
 revolt in, against the Turks, vi, 196, 201  
 made a kingdom, vi, 210, 212  
 modification of frontier, vii, 142  
 Crete annexed to, viii, 381  
 King Constantine of, abdicates, ix, 20, 199  
 and Turkey, war between, ix, 199, 206-207, 215  
 conditions in, after war, ix, 209-210  
 and Italy, ix, 216  
 George II. of, exiled, ix, 217  
 becomes a republic, ix, 224  
 invaded in World War II, x, 75, 76  
 British troops land in, x, 254  
 Archbishop Damoskinos regent of, x, 312  
 (See also Athens, Greeks)

# INDEX

- Greek Church in Russia, ii, 265  
 Greek civilization, spread of, i, 314  
 Greek fire, ii, 238, 276; iii, 230  
 Greek language, i, 313; ii, 256; iv, 27  
   the language of Christianity, ii, 164  
 Greek Laws, i, 237  
 Greek States, League of, i, 297  
   independence of, ii, 22  
 Greeks, appearance of, i, 215  
   join Cyrus, i, 270-272  
   genius of the, i, 313  
   perfidy of the, ii, 275, 341-342  
   defeated by the Turks, ii, 334; iii, 245; ix, 206-207  
   in Constantinople, iii, 18; ix, 211  
   massacre of the, v, 240; vi, 203-204  
   in Smyrna, v, 306; ix, 207, 210  
   fight for independence, vi, 201  
   offer crown to Otho, vi, 212  
   and Turks, hatred between, ix, 206  
   (See also Greece)  
**GREEN, JOHN RICHARD**  
   The Conquest of Ireland and Colonization of Ulster, iv, 205  
   The Conquests of Bengal and Canada, v, 201  
   Defeat of the Spanish Armada, iv, 167  
   The Glorious Revolution, v, 19  
   Norman Conquest of England, ii, 305  
   Prosecution of John Wilkes and Passing of the Stamp Act, v, 213  
   The Rise of Methodism and the New Philanthropy, v, 155  
   The Saxon Conquest of Britain, ii, 181  
 Greenland, discovered and settled, ii, 260  
 Gregorios, execution of, vi, 203  
 Gregory I. (the Great), ii, 164, 167  
 Gregory II., ii, 249  
 Gregory III., peril of, ii, 249  
 Gregory VI., Pope, ii, 313  
 Gregory VII., Pope, ii, 317  
   power of, ii, 318  
   policy of, ii, 318-319  
   difficulties of, ii, 319-320  
   holds synod at Rome, ii, 320  
   excommunicates Henry IV. of Germany, ii, 322  
   holds synod in the Vatican, ii, 322  
   (See also Hildebrand)  
 Gregory IX., Inquisition begins under, iii, 35  
 Gregory XII., Pope, iii, 189  
   abdicates, iii, 194  
 Grenville, v, 213, 215  
 Grey, Lord, iv, 208  
 Grey, Sir Thomas, ii, 104  
 Griffith, Arthur, ix, 190, 199  
*Gripsholm*, x, 214  
 Grochov, battle of, vii, 33  
**GROVER, J. W.**  
   The Suez Canal, vii, 109  
**Growth of the Papacy, The**, ii, 163  
 Guadalcanal, x, 183, 300, 413  
   Marines invade, x, 132  
   sea battles for, x, 133, 149  
   control of, won, x, 171  
 Guadeloupe settled, iv, 293  
 Guam, x, 110, 249, 320  
 Guatemala, proclaims independence, vi, 217  
**GUBIN, E. K.**  
   Penicillin, x, 193  
 Guiscard, Robert, ii, 266-267, 320  
 Guise, Duke of, at Calais, iv, 119  
**GUIZOT, FRANÇOIS PIERRE GUILLAUME**  
   The Peace of Utrecht, v, 103  
 Gunhilda, prophecy of, ii, 297  
**Gunpowder Plot, The**, iv, 227  
 Gunpowder Plot, iv, 232  
 Gustavus Adolphus, iv, 271, 274, 279; v, 92  
 Gustavus III. (Sweden), v, 245, 308, 340  
 Gustav V., becomes King of Sweden, viii, 230  
 Gutenberg, Johannes, iii, 254; iv, 27  
 Guy, King of Jerusalem, ii, 2, 6  
 Guzerat, conquered by Akbar, iv, 187  
 Guzman, Dominic, iii, 35  
 Gylippus, i, 261, 263, 265  
 Gyrwas, the, ii, 193

## H

- Haakon VII., King of Norway**, viii, 203  
 Haakon VII. of Norway, viii, 98, 203  
   neutrality policy of, x, 29  
   hunted by the Nazis, x, 40, 44, 45, 52  
   retires to England, x, 64  
 Habeas Corpus Bill, iv, 320  
 Haco I., iii, 53  
 Hadith, the, ix, 385  
 Hadrian, Pope, ii, 251  
 Hafstad, Dr. L. R., physicist, x, 407

- Hague, The, first peace conference at, vii, 247-255  
 Court of International Arbitration, vii, 279  
 second peace conference at, viii, 217  
 Opium Congress at, viii, 291; ix, 150-151  
 Carnegie Peace Palace at, viii, 381  
 1903 Convention of, ix, 153  
 International Conference at, ix, 198  
 Hahn, Dr. Otto, German scientist, x, 407  
 Haig, Field Marshal Sir Douglas, ix, 9, 93  
 Haile Selassie, Emperor of Abyssinia, ix, 258, 298  
 flees, ix, 308  
 appeals to League of Nations, ix, 327  
 returns to throne, x, 76  
 Hainault, joins Crusade, iii, 13  
 Haiti, iv, 13; viii, 230; ix, 113  
 Hakluyt, Richard, iv, 213  
 Halkett, Sir Peter, v, 179, 183  
**HALLAM, HENRY**  
 Revolutions in Rome, iii, 131  
 Halley's comet, viii, 255  
 Halsey, Admiral Wm. F., x, 88, 96, 260, 266  
 a legend in the Navy, x, 257  
 and the Philippine invasion, x, 258, 259  
 battle strategy of, x, 262, 263, 264, 273, 285, 298, 300  
 3d Fleet of, in Philippine sea battle, x, 280-285  
 assembles 3d Fleet in Tokyo Bay, x, 413  
 Hamar, Norway, x, 36, 37, 42, 43, 45  
 Hamburg, ii, 262; iii, 116, 121; x, 349  
 Hamilcar, ii, 1, 6  
 Hamilcar Phameas, ii, 29  
**HAMILTON, ANGUS**  
 Japan and Korea, viii, 219  
 The Orenburg-Tashkent Railway, viii, 33  
 The Rise of the Young Turks, viii, 233  
 Hamilton, Richard, v, 35, 36, 38  
 Hamilton, Lieut.-Colonel, v, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53  
 Hammann, U. S. destroyer, sunk, x, 130  
 Hampden, regiment of, iv, 296  
 death of, iv, 300  
 Hampshire, Kitchener lost in sinking of, ix, 10  
 Hancock, General, vii, 68, 71, 76, 77  
 Hand writing on the wall, i, 165  
 Hanifsm, ii, 209  
 Hannibal, invades Italy, i, 332  
 genius of, ii, 5  
 Hannibal, hears news of Hasdrubal, ii, 12, 20  
 recalled from Italy, ii, 21  
 death of, ii, 22  
 Hanover, Treaty of, v, 131  
 Hans of Denmark, iii, 119  
 Hansa, definition of, iii, 113  
 decline of the, iii, 119  
 Hansa Alamannia, the, iii, 116  
 Hanse towns, iii, 117-121  
**Hanseatic League, The**, iii, 113  
 Hanseatic League, character of, iii, 118-119  
 last assembly of, iii, 121  
 Hapsburg, House of, iii, 91; iv, 105; v, 164, 166  
 humbled by Napoleon, vi, 118  
 in Italy, vi, 190  
 dynastic interests of, ix, 3, 83-84, 89, 90  
 Hapsburg Dual Monarchy, ix, 80, 81, 85  
 Harald Hardrada, ii, 307  
 Harding, Warren G., becomes President, ix, 183  
 starts tour, ix, 201  
 death of, ix, 216  
 Harfleur, the English take, iii, 202  
 Harmodius, death of, i, 187  
 Harold, Earl of Wessex, becomes King of England, ii, 304  
 oath of, ii, 306  
 army of, ii, 308  
 death of, ii, 310  
 Harold Blutooth, ii, 287  
 Harold Goldtooth, death of, ii, 262  
 Harold Haarfager, ii, 263  
 Haroun al Rashid, ii, 245  
 Harpagus, i, 155  
**HARRIMAN, FLORENCE JAFFRAY**  
 The Nazis Come, x, 29  
**HART, SIR ROBERT**  
 The Boxer Movement, vii, 267  
*Haruna*, Japanese battleship, x, 263  
 Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, ii, 6  
 expedition of, ii, 5-6  
 crosses the Pyrenees, ii, 7  
 enters Italy, ii, 10  
 movements of, ii, 12-13  
 his message to Hannibal, ii, 13  
 retreat of, ii, 16-17  
 prepares for battle, ii, 17-18  
 death of, ii, 20  
 Hasdrubal, Carthaginian general, ii, 31  
 massacres prisoners, ii, 31-32

# INDEX

- Hasdrubal, surrenders to Scipio, ii, 34  
 Hâshim, Mobammed's grandfather, ii, 205, 207  
 Hassan Bey, vi, 76  
 Hassan, Gazi, v, 240  
 Hassan Pacha, harangue of, v, 306  
 Hastings, Count of Chartres, ii, 264  
 Hastings, Warren, ix, 297  
   Governor of Bengal, v, 245  
   resigns powers, v, 302  
   trial of, v, 312  
 Havana, captured by the English, v, 211  
 Havelock, Henry, vii, 3  
 Hawaii annexed to United States, vii, 204  
   first Territorial Legislature of, vii, 279  
   joined to mainland by air, ix, 251, 254  
   attacked by Japan, x, 85, 110  
   (See also Pearl Harbor)  
 Hawke, Admiral, v, 205  
 Hawkins, John, iv, 178  
 Hawkins, Lieut. Wm. D., heroism of, x, 190  
 Hawkwood, Sir John, iii, 209  
 Hay, John, at Pan-American Conference, viii, 214  
   policy of open door for China, ix, 272  
 Hayti, independence of, vi, 90  
 HEATH, RICHARD  
   The Great Divorce in France, viii, 129  
 HECKER, J. F. C.  
   The Black Death, iii, 139  
 Hegenberger and Maitland, flight of, ix, 254  
 Hegira, The, ii, 205  
 Heights of Abraham, the, v, 208  
 Heilungkiang, province of, ix, 262  
 Held, Heinrich, ix, 282  
 Helena, mother of Constantine, ii, 153  
*Helena*, damaged at Pearl Harbor, x, 106  
 Heligoland, vi, 139  
   ceded to Germany, vii, 159  
   surrendered by Nazis, x, 347, 349  
 Hellenic League, the, i, 232  
 Hellenic Republic. (See Greece)  
 Hellespont, the, ii, 157  
 Hellfire Pass, x, 146  
 Helvetic Confederation, vi, 119  
 Helvetic Republic, vi, 55  
   (See also Switzerland)  
 Hengest, landing of, ii, 182  
 Henlein, Konrad, Nazi-Sudeten leader, ix, 345, 351-352, 354  
 Henry III., the Black, goes to Rome, ii, 312  
 Henry VI., Emperor, iii, 9, 12  
 Henry II. (England), wars of, iii, 48  
 Henry III. (England), death of, iii, 73-74  
   ignores the Provisions, iii, 64  
   pledges kingdom to the Pope, iii, 61  
   bravery of, iii, 68-69  
 Henry V. (England), claims France, iii, 199  
   invades France, iii, 202  
   at Agincourt, iii, 204  
   rewards after Agincourt, iii, 208  
   conquers Normandy, iii, 209  
 Henry VI. (England), King of France, iii, 209  
 Henry VII. (England). (See Richmond, Earl of)  
   treaty with Hans of Denmark, iii, 119  
 Henry VIII. (England), at Field of Cloth of Gold, iv, 52  
   destroys monasteries, iv, 89  
 Henry III. (France), alliance with Henry of Navarre, iv, 192, 194, 196  
 Henry of Navarre, iv, 183  
   wedding of, iv, 185  
   becomes Henry IV. of France, iv, 198  
 Henry IV. (France), defeats League, iv, 198  
 Henry the Fowler, ii, 279  
 Henry I. (Germany), refuses consecration, ii, 279-280  
   frontier campaigns of, ii, 280, 282  
   strengthens German towns, ii, 281  
   insults the Hungarians, ii, 282  
   defeats Hungarians, ii, 283  
   death of, ii, 285  
 Henry IV. (Germany), ii, 313  
   policy of, ii, 315  
   wins victory at Hohenburg, ii, 316  
   holds council at Worms, ii, 321  
   excommunicated and deposed, ii, 322  
   forced to submit, ii, 324  
   goes to Pavia, ii, 325  
   death of, ii, 350  
 Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, iv, 185, 189, 194  
 Heraclidæ, the, i, 56  
 Heraclius saves Constantinople, ii, 204  
 Herbert, Sidney, vi, 336  
 Herbert, Sir Walter, iii, 270  
 Hercules, Pillars of, ii, 227  
 Hercynian forest, the, ii, 84

- Hermann, Bishop of Metz, ii, 323  
Herman of Salza, heads Teutonic Order, iii, 56  
Herminie, Princess, marries ex-Kaiser, ix, 200  
Hermippus, i, 35  
Hernici, wars of, with Rome, i, 296  
HERODOTUS  
    The Conquest of Lydia, i, 153  
Heroes of Chighitta, the, iii, 185  
Herrera, Posada, vii, 96  
Herring fisheries, iii, 120  
Hersilia, i, 91, 96  
Hertz, Heinrich, vii, 190  
Hertz ray, vii, 185  
Herzegovina, vii, 130, 142; viii, 241, 242; ix, 68  
Hess, Rudolf, ix, 349  
HESSELLS, J. H.  
    Invention of Printing, iii, 247  
Hevelles, the, conquered by Henry I, ii, 282  
Hexham, battle of, iii, 254  
Hezekiah, i, 124  
    prepares for siege of Jerusalem, i, 126  
    sues for peace, i, 127  
Hicks Pasha, vii, 146  
Hieromnemon, the, i, 301  
Higgins boats, x, 185, 186, 189  
Hildebrand, ii, 313  
    becomes Pope Gregory VII., ii, 316. (*See also*  
    Gregory VII.)  
Hill, A. P., vii, 65, 67  
HILL, ROBERT T.  
    The Destruction of St. Pierre, vii, 289  
Hilliers, Baraguai d', vi, 54  
Himmler, Heinrich, Gestapo chief, x, 345, 353,  
    381  
Hindenburg, Paul von, ix, 11, 182  
    German President, ix, 226, 259, 281  
    pleads for national solidarity, ix, 285  
    powers curtailed, ix, 288  
    decline and death of, ix, 335  
Hindenburg, German dirigible, burns, ix, 343-  
    344  
Hindustan, iii, 179, 188; vii, 2, 3  
Hipparchus, i, 182, 185, 186  
Hippias, i, 182, 185, 211, 213  
    dream of, i, 214  
Hirohito, Emperor of Japan, ix, 242  
    views Tokyo damage, x, 375-376  
    retention of, surrender issue, x, 409-411  
    sends princes to tell of defeat, x, 413  
Hiroshima, Japan, atomic bomb dropped on,  
    x, 402, 403, 404  
Hirsch, Baron, vii, 159  
Hiryu, Jap carrier, blasted in Battle of Midway,  
    x, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123  
Hitler, Adolf, defeated in election, ix, 259  
    Chancellor, ix, 279-280, 285, 292, 334  
    given dictatorial powers, ix, 286-288, 293  
    abolishes Reichsrat, ix, 294  
    government of, approved by Germany, ix,  
    308  
    policies of, ix, 313-316, 317, 336-343, 348,  
    356; x, 1-6, 12-13, 16, 19, 22, 78  
    abrogates Versailles Treaty, ix, 343  
    seizes Austria, ix, 344  
    maneuvers against Czechoslovakia, ix, 345,  
    348-354  
    dictates terms at Munich, ix, 355, 357-362;  
    x, 18  
    occupies the Sudetenland, ix, 362  
    annexes Czechoslovakia, ix, 380  
    starts World War II, x, 6  
    forms Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, x, 75  
    invades Russia, x, 77  
    described by Churchill, x, 79, 84  
    succeeded by Admiral Doenitz as Fuehrer, x,  
    343  
    Berchtesgaden, retreat of, taken, x, 351  
    death of, reported, x, 352-354  
    German opinion of, at war's end, x, 357-359  
Hitler Dictatorship, The, ix, 279  
Hobby, Oveta Culp, director of WACS, x, 111  
HOBSON, GEORGE ANDREW  
    The Victoria Falls Bridge, viii, 123  
Hoche pacifies La Vendée, vi, 43  
Hochkirch, battle of, v, 196, 204  
Hodges, Ensign A. R., x, 265  
Hodza plan, ix, 351  
Hohenburg on the Unstrut, battle of, ii, 316  
Hohenzollern, William, ix, 95, 140, 200  
HOLBROOK, E. ST. G.  
    Battle of Mukden, viii, 77  
    The Siege of Port Arthur, viii, 65  
Holland. (*See* Netherlands)  
Holland Tunnel, opened, ix, 256  
Hollid-Smith, Colonel, vii, 149  
Holy Alliance, the, vi, 177  
    true meaning of, vi, 179, 193  
Holy Lance, discovery of the, ii, 345

# INDEX

- Holy League, the, iv, 7, 172, 189  
 defeated, iv, 201  
 against Turks, iv, 329
- Holy Roman Empire, end of the, vi, 119
- Holy See, an international power, ii, 250
- Holy Synod, the, in Russia, v, 143
- Holy War, the, ii, 211  
 against the Phocians, i, 297  
 third, i, 297
- Homer, i, 45
- Homicidal mania, vi, 15, 24
- Honduras, Republic of, vi, 339
- Hong Kong, ix, 364  
 ceded to the English, vi, 247  
 typhoon at, viii, 216  
 isolated by Jap occupation of Canton, ix, 364  
 preparations in, for war, ix, 366-367  
 surrenders to Japan, x, 110
- Honolulu, x, 125, 126
- Honolulu*, damaged at Pearl Harbor, x, 106
- Honorata, the Princess, ii, 169, 177
- Hoover, Herbert, ix, 256, 291, 326  
 directs food relief, ix, 95  
 elected President, ix, 257
- Horatius, i, 240
- Horatius Cocles, i, 203
- Horn, Admiral, iv, 153, 157
- Hornet*, U. S. carrier, x, 114, 132, 257  
 Torpedo Squadron 8 of, x, 115, 116, 120  
 lost in Battle of Santa Cruz Islands, x, 133
- Horsa, ii, 182, 186
- Horst Wessel House, ix, 283
- Hoskins, Capt. John M., heroism of, trying to  
 save the *Princeton*, x, 268-269
- Hospitallers, ii, 350
- Hostilius, i, 91
- House of Burgesses, Virginia, v, 259
- House of Chumbam, ii, 74
- How America Went to War**, ix, 15
- Howard, John, v, 163
- Howard, General, vii, 68, 71
- Howard of Effingham, Lord, iv, 177, 179
- Howe, Lord, v, 285
- Hubertsburg, peace of, v, 198
- Hudson, Henry, set adrift, iv, 258  
 arrives in New York Bay, iv, 246  
 sails up Hudson River, iv, 247  
 voyages of 1609 and 1610, iv, 257
- Hudson's Last Voyage, iv, 255
- Huejar, sack of, iii, 345
- Hugenberg, German minister, ix, 288
- Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, ii, 324, 325
- Hugh, of Vermandois, ii, 337, 342, 345
- Hughes, David, vii, 130
- Hugo, Victor, vi, 315
- Huguenots, the, iv, 158, 183, 186, 189, 273  
 cruelties suffered by, iv, 333, 337  
 flight of the, iv, 335
- Hull, Cordell, ix, 326; x, 398  
 at Moscow Conference, x, 182
- Huluku, enters Persia, iii, 60
- Humber, estuary of the, ii, 192
- Humbert, King, assassinated, vii, 266
- Humboldt, voyage of, vi, 69
- HUME, DAVID  
 Battle of Agincourt, iii, 201  
 Battle of Crecy, iii, 123  
 End of Wars of the Roses, iii, 269  
 Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition, iv, 261  
 Suppression of the Greater Monasteries, iv,  
 89  
 Suppression of the Templars, iii, 95  
 The Exclusion Bill and Habeas Corpus Act,  
 iv, 317
- HUME, MARTIN A. S.  
 The Expulsion of Queen Isabella, vii, 93
- Hundred Days, the, vi, 172
- Hundred Years' War, iii, 112
- Hungarians, invade Pannonia, ii, 274-275  
 the, ii, 280, 350  
 truce with Henry I., ii, 281  
 invade Germany, ii, 282, 288  
 defeat of the, ii, 283, 288  
 defeated by Turks, iv, 87
- Hungary, iii, 196; vi, 279; ix, 69, 85  
 Sigismund king of, iii, 191, 192  
 invaded by Turks, iv, 323  
 insurrection in, v, 76, 77  
 Turks lose last foothold in, v, 131  
 and Maria Theresa, v, 166, 168  
 revolution of, vi, 281-282  
 claims of, upon Czechoslovakia, x, 14  
 joins Axis Nations, x, 75  
 declares war on Russia, x, 85  
 surrenders to the Allies, x, 313
- Hungerford, Sir Walter, joins Earl of Rich-  
 mond, iii, 251

- Huniades defeats Mohammed II., iii, 254  
 Huns, retreat of the, ii, 169  
   attack the Goths, ii, 168  
   the, ii, 269  
 HUNTER, SIR WILLIAM WILSON  
   The Conquest of Mysore, v, 335  
 HURD, ARCHIBALD S.  
   Battle of the Sea of Japan, viii, 89  
 Huss, John, burned alive for heresy, iii, 195  
   execution of, Bohemian national insult, iii,  
     196; iv, 270  
 Hussinitz, James, iii, 196  
 Hussites, the, iii, 199  
 Hussite wars, beginning of the, iii, 197  
 Huythaca, i, 12

## I

- Ibrahim, vi, 49, 205  
 Iceland, U. S. occupies, by agreement, x, 85  
 Icilius, i, 236, 239  
 Ida, i, 16  
 Ida, rears Bernicia, English capital,  
   ii, 194  
 Ie Shima, Jap surrender envoys sent to, x, 412  
 Igor, assassination of, ii, 276  
   leads against Tzargrad, ii, 276  
 Idico, wife of Attila, ii, 178  
 Illumination, ancient, vi, 213-214  
   gas and electric, introduced, vi, 215  
 Illyria, i, 332; ii, 44  
 Illyricum, Sarmatians invade, ii, 156  
 Immigration Bill, ix, 224-225  
*Imperator*, launched, viii, 354  
 Implements, early use of, i, 6-8  
 Incas, the, iv, 16-17  
 Independence, Declaration of, v, 271  
 Independents, rise of the, iv, 299  
 Index, the, iv, 104  
 India, first sighted by Da Gama, iii, 323; vi, 241  
   Hindu-Moslem relations in, iv, 114  
   French influence in, v, 202, 336  
   Bengal, conquered by Clive, v, 202-203  
   Mysore, conquered by the British, v, 335-340  
   opium trade of, vi, 242  
   mutiny in, vii, 1-6  
   anti-European riot in, viii, 231  
   non-cooperation movement in, ix, 198, 200  
   civil disobedience in, ix, 258; x, 133  
 India, new constitution for, ix, 307  
   population of, x, 80  
   (See also East India Company)  
 Indian Mutiny, The, vii, 1  
 Indians, of the New World, iii, 301; v, 283  
   on Manhattan Island, iv, 246, 250  
 Indies, Council of the, iii, 350  
 Indifference, laws to prevent, i, 115, 116  
 Indulgence, Declaration of, v, 16, 20  
 Inkerman, battle of, vi, 334, 347-355  
 Innocent I., ii, 164  
 Innocent III., Pope, iii, 12, 33  
   opposes Fourth Crusade, iii, 15  
   deposes John of England, iii, 42  
 Inoculation for small-pox, v, 144  
 Inquisition, iii, 35, 268; iv, 104, 105, 156  
   wrongs inflicted on England, iv, 172  
   resumes activity, vi, 187  
   dissolved, vi, 188  
 Inquisitors in Granada, iii, 340, 346-347  
   work of the, iii, 285  
 Institutes of Justinian, ii, 202  
 Inter-American Peace Conference, ix, 332  
 International Arbitration, Hague Court of, vii,  
   279  
 International Law, American Society of, viii, 146  
   Institute of, viii, 216  
 International Opium Congress, viii, 291  
 International Union of American Republics,  
   viii, 213  
 Into Tibet, viii, 19  
 Invasion of Italy by Attila, Foundation of  
   the Republic of Venice and Destruction  
   of Attila's Empire, ii, 171  
 Invasion of Russia, The, x, 77  
 Invasion of Tamerlane, The, iii, 179  
 Invasion, The, x, 215  
 Invasions, amphibious, in World War II  
   Guadalcanal, x, 132  
   North Africa, x, 133, 135, 147-148  
   Sicily, x, 171  
   Italy, x, 172, 173-181, 214  
   Bougainville, x, 182  
   Gilbert Islands, x, 182, 183-192  
   Marshall Islands, x, 214  
   France, x, 214, 215-248, 249  
   Saipan and Guam islands, x, 249  
   Peleliu and Morotai islands, x, 254  
   Philippine Islands, x, 255, 312, 313



# INDEX

- Invasions, amphibious, in World War II**  
 Walcheren Island, x, 312  
 Iwo Jima, x, 313, 315-330  
 Okinawa, x, 331  
 Borneo, x, 401
- Invention of Printing, iii, 247**
- Invention of the Steamboat, The, vi, 91**
- Invention of the Steam Engine, The, v, 227**
- Investitures, ii, 313, 320-321, 349**
- Invisible light, vii, 181**
- Ionian Islands, join Greece, vii, 53**
- Iowa, U. S. battleship, x, 413**
- Iran, official name of Persia, ix, 295**
- Iraq (Irak), submits to Arabs, ii, 221**  
 Feisal II., succeeds King Ghazi in, ix, 381
- Ireland, ix, 8, 15**  
 conquered by Strongbow, ii, 350  
 and Queen Elizabeth, iv, 205-207  
 Spanish and Papal invasion of, iv, 208  
 English conquest of, iv, 210  
 colonization of Ulster in, iv, 211-212  
 invaded by Cromwell, iv, 316  
 invaded by William of Orange, v, 29  
 aided by France against England, v, 31; vi, 55  
 defeated by the English at Boyne, v, 36-38  
 Dublin revolt in, ix, 10, 199  
 sought by Lindbergh, ix, 245  
 (See also Irish Free State)
- Irene, the Empress, ii, 257**
- Iris, ii, 58**
- Irish, courage of the, iv, 206**  
 army of the, v, 31-32  
 rout of the, v, 36
- Irish Free State, The, ix, 185**
- Irish Free State, Treaty with England, ix, 185-190, 197, 198**  
 Constitution of, ix, 198, 200  
 joins League of Nations, ix, 216  
 boundary of, with Ulster, ix, 226  
 election of de Valera in, ix, 259, 292
- Irish Home Rule Bill, viii, 310, 380; ix, 7, 183**
- Irish Land League, vii, 144**
- Iron crown of Lombardy, vi, 89**
- Irrigation, value of, viii, 143**
- Irving, Sir Henry, death of, viii, 127**
- IRVING, WASHINGTON**  
 The Discovery of America, iii, 293
- Isaac Comnenus, iii, 15, 18, 19**
- Isabella of Castile, iii, 268, 277, 281**
- Isabella of Spain, vi, 231; vii, 83, 92, 93**
- Isagoras, i, 191**
- Isaiah, prophecy of, i, 124, 130**
- Israeli, Bertuccio, iii, 157**
- Isis, the New, ii, 56**
- Islam, system of, ix, 385-386**  
 eliminated from Turkey, ix, 387-392
- Islamism, i, 42; iii, 348-349; iv, 114**
- Ismael, siege of, v, 310-311**
- Issus, battle of, i, 311**
- Isthmian Canal Treaty, vii, 279**
- Italian Adventure, The: Imperialists on Parade, ix, 297**
- Italian Colonization on the Red Sea, vii, 151**
- Italian Renaissance, iii, 327**
- Italo-Turkish War, viii, 290, 310**
- Italy, subjugation of, i, 296**  
 under the Ostrogoths, ii, 197-202  
 Justinian's reign in, ii, 202-204  
 the Normans in, ii, 266-267  
 conspiracy in, iii, 76  
 ravaged by Turks, iii, 268  
 invaded by Charles VIII. of France, iii, 307  
 French driven from, iii, 316  
 Holy League formed by, against France, iv, 7  
 conquered by Charles V. of Spain, iv, 75-78  
 Reformation in, iv, 99-109  
 merged into a kingdom under Bonaparte, vi, 89  
 ruled by Hapsburgs of Austria, vi, 190-195  
 revolution of 1848 in, vi, 282-283  
 Napoleon III. in, vii, 9-15  
 unification of, vii, 17-22  
 end of Pope's temporal power in, vii, 23  
 founds colony of Erytrea, vii, 150  
 and Abyssinia, vii, 151-158; ix, 297-306  
 connected with Switzerland by Simplon tunnel, viii, 73-76  
 eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in, viii, 165-174  
 at war with Turkey, viii, 290  
 annexes Tripoli and Cyrenaica, viii, 310  
 invaded in World War I, ix, 20-21  
 naval tonnage of, ix, 192, 194, 196  
 Fascists come to power in, ix, 199, 200  
 mobilizes army, ix, 307  
 annexes Abyssinia, ix, 308  
 policy of, in Spanish civil war, ix, 312, 313, 315-319

Italy, Axis partner of Germany, ix, 340, 345,  
349; x, 26  
conquers Albania, ix, 381  
declares war on France and England, x, 64  
invades Greece, x, 75  
declares war on the United States, x, 110  
invaded by Allies, x, 172, 173-181, 214  
surrenders to the Allies, x, 172  
Crown Prince Umberto control of, x, 214  
Mussolini executed in, x, 339  
Germans in, surrender, x, 339, 347-348, 350  
(*See also* Rome, Florence, Genoa, Venice)

Ito Sukehiro, vii, 170, 177

Ivan of Russia, iii, 255

Ivri, battle of, iv, 198

Iwo Jima, x, 381

invasion of, x, 313, 315

difficulties of landing on, x, 317, 318-320

Japanese defenses on, x, 321-324

Japanese weapons used on, x, 327-328

American losses, x, 329-330

Iyéyoshi, the shôgun, vi, 325, 327

## J

Jackson, General Andrew, vi, 198

Jacobin club, v, 318, 319

Jacobinism, vi, 179

Jacobins, the, leaders of, v, 320

character of, vi, 15, 18

Jacobites, v, 117, 121

Jacquerie, The, iii, 161

Jacquerie, the rising of the, iii, 162

overthrown, iii, 167

Jacques Bonhomme, iii, 162

Jaffa, capture of, vi, 72

Jaffier, Antoine, vi, 47

Jalula, battle of, ii, 224

James I. (England) and letter regarding Gun-  
powder Plot, iv, 230

James II. (England), accession of, iv, 329

humiliation of, v, 15, 19

raises Irish troops, v, 21

flight of, v, 24

retreat of, v, 30

at Donore, v, 31

army of, v, 31, 62

James IV. (Scotland), invades England, iv, 19

death of, iv, 24

James, the Old Pretender, v, 120  
arrives in Scotland, v, 129

Jameson Raid, vii, 179

Jamestown (Va.) founded, iv, 217

Janiculum, the, i, 290

Janizaries, the, iii, 243

revolt of, v, 67

massacre of, vi, 217

Japan, iv, 109

Dutch receive permission to trade with, iv,  
258

Tokugawa dynasty in, vi, 321-322, 327

Commodore Perry's mission to, vi, 323-324

the opening of, to foreign commerce, vi, 327-  
328; vii, 7

abolishes feudal system, vii, 108

sets up constitutional government, vii, 159

position of, in the East, vii, 163

navy of, defeats Chinese fleet, vii, 169-178

at War with Russia, viii, 16

besieges and captures Port Arthur, viii, 65-70

wins the battle for Mukden, viii, 77-86

defeats Russia in Sea of Japan, viii, 89-98

gains made by, in peace treaty, viii, 120

and Korea, viii, 219-229

ultimatum to Germany, ix, 6

extends leases on Dalny and Port Arthur, ix,  
8

withdraws from Siberia, ix, 199

reindorses 21 demands, ix, 201

naval limitations for, ix, 192, 193, 196

signs Five-Power Treaty, ix, 216

Hirohito becomes emperor of, ix, 242

conquers Manchuria, ix, 261-265

political objectives of, in Manchuria, ix, 265,  
266

answers Lytton Report, ix, 278

withdraws from League of Nations, ix, 293

Panay sunk by, ix, 344

war of, in China, ix, 363-379; x, 24

intentions of, in Asia, ix, 370

in border warfare with Russia, ix, 380

joins Berlin-Rome Axis, x, 75

attacks Pearl Harbor, x, 92-108

United States declares war on, x, 109

seizes Wake Island, Hong Kong, Singapore,

Rangoon and the Philippines, x, 110

defeated in Battle of Midway, x, 115-132

shelled by American warships, x, 214

# INDEX

- Japan, bombed by Superfortresses, x, 249, 312, 356, 386, 401  
 defeated in battle for Leyte Gulf, x, 260-300  
 conditions in, from B-29 raids, x, 371-386  
 hit by atomic bombs, x, 402  
 offers to surrender, x, 408, 409  
 Allied surrender terms for, x, 410-411  
 accepts Allied terms, x, 412  
 occupation troops land in, x, 413  
 surrenders aboard the *Missouri*, x, 414  
 surrenders in China, x, 415  
 (See also Japanese)
- Japan and Korea, viii, 219
- Japan Goes Fishing, ix, 363
- Japanese, "Monroe Doctrine," ix, 266  
 treachery, x, 87  
 execute American fliers, x, 171  
 snipers, x, 187, 188, 189  
 Imperial Marines, x, 191  
 island defenses, x, 191, 321-323, 325, 328  
 fleet, x, 263  
 end resistance on Leyte, x, 312  
 prisoners, x, 316  
 weapons, x, 324, 327, 328  
 dead, on Iwo, x, 329  
 bureaucracy, x, 374  
 Kamikaze, x, 383  
 war machine, x, 384
- Jarnac, battle of, iv, 183
- Jaurès, Auguste Marie Joseph Jean, viii, 133  
 assassinated, ix, 5
- Jean Bart*, French battleship, x, 148
- Jebel Fureidis, ii, 75
- Jefferson, President, viii, 135
- Jehol, province of, ix, 262, 263, 292
- Jellicoe, Admiral, ix, 12
- Jemappes, battle of, v, 320
- Jemmingen, battle of, iv, 158
- Jena, battle of, vi, 115
- Jerome of Prague, iii, 195
- Jerusalem, ii, 51  
 siege of, begins, ii, 120  
 defence of, ii, 121  
 horrors of famine in, ii, 124  
 a furious sortie upon, ii, 126  
 fate of the Sanctuary at, ii, 126, 127, 128  
 sack of, ii, 127  
 siege of the upper city of, ii, 129  
 fall of, ii, 129  
 conquered by the Turks, ii, 334  
 siege of, ii, 346  
 assize of, ii, 349  
 capture by Saladin, ii, 350  
 Richard's march to, iii, 8  
 burned by Turks, iii, 60
- Jesuit schools, iv, 103, 270; v, 23
- Jesuits, iv, 101, 173, 243; vi, 187  
 Order of the, iv, 101-102  
 political influence, iv, 103; v, 26  
 found mission in Canada, iv, 258  
 (See also Society of Jesus)
- Jeunesse Dorée, the, vi, 34
- Jewish blood in Spanish nobility, iii, 286
- Jewish International Conference, viii, 154
- Jewish money lenders, vi, 180; vii, 338, 343
- Jews, heroism of the, ii, 121  
 and Christians, law regarding, ii, 114-115  
 and Mohammed, ii, 215  
 rewarded by Tarik, ii, 233  
 in England, massacre of, ii, 350  
 persecutions of the, iii, 149; vii, 337-340  
 edict against the, iii, 287  
 cruelties to the, iii, 287, 290-291  
 expelled from Spain, iii, 288, 340  
 massacred by the Russians, vii, 337, 344  
 condition of the, in Russia, vii, 339-343, 345  
 persecuted by the Nazis, ix, 281, 345  
 riot with Arabs with Palestine, ix, 392
- Jews Expelled from Spain, The, iii, 285
- Jingo, origin of word, vii, 136
- Jits exterminated by Timur, iii, 183
- Joan of Arc at Orleans, iii, 211
- Joan of Arc, iii, 214, 215  
 seeks the Dauphin, iii, 216-217  
 enters Orleans, iii, 218  
 and Charles VII., iii, 225
- Jodl, Col. Gen. Gustav, German Chief of Staff, x, 344
- John XXIII., Pope, iii, 173  
 abdicates, iii, 193
- John (England), takes oath of Crusaders, iii, 47  
 opposition of, to the Pope, iii, 41  
 deposed, iii, 42  
 leagues with northern princes, iii, 42  
 surrenders crown to Pope, iii, 43  
 successes of, in France, iii, 45  
 vengeance of, iii, 52  
 death of, iii, 52-53

John II. (Portugal), iii, 318  
 John VI. (Portugal), vi, 197  
 John, Don, of Austria, iv, 162. (*See also* Juan of Austria, Don)  
 John of Argyll, iii, 100  
 John of Gischala, ii, 122, 124  
 John of Leyden, iv, 87  
 John of Procida, iii, 77  
 Johnson, Ensign Dudley J., of PT 127, x, 272  
 Joinville, Sire de, iii, 12  
 JONES, EDGAR L.  
   A Letter From Iwo Jima, x, 315  
 Jones, John Paul, viii, 193  
 JONES, GEORGE E., *et al.*  
   America's Greatest Naval Battle, x, 257  
 JONES, RICHARD LLOYD  
   Lewis and Clark Exposition, viii, 135  
 Jonson, Ben, iv, 243  
 Joseph and Mary, journey of, ii, 73  
 Joseph II. of Austria, v, 240, 303, 304-305  
 Josephine, coronation of, vi, 89  
   divorce of, vi, 118  
*Josephine Ford*, North Pole airplane, ix, 233  
 Josephus, ii, 120  
 Joshua ben Gamala, ii, 125  
 Juan of Austria, Don, iv, 146, 148, 162  
 Juárez, Benito Pablo, Mexican reformer, vii, 47  
 Judah, Sennacherib pillages, i, 127  
 Judaism, i, 19  
 Judea, a Roman province, ii, 108  
 Jugoslavia. (*See* Yugoslavia)  
 Jugurtha, ii, 44, 48  
 Julian, Count, ii, 231, 232  
   entertains Musa, ii, 235  
   General of the Goths, ii, 227  
   disgrace of, ii, 228  
   seeks aid from Moors and Arabs, ii, 229  
 Julian, Emperor, death of, ii, 108  
 Juliana, Netherlands Crown Princess, ix, 332  
 Julius II., Pope, iv, 4, 7  
*Juncos*, U. S. cruiser, lost, x, 284  
 Junius Letters, v, 235  
 Juno, Temple of, i, 79  
 Junto formed, v, 66  
 Justeus, M., ii, 62  
 Justin I., Emperor of the East, ii, 198  
 Justin II., succeeds Justinian, ii, 203  
 Justinian, Emperor, ii, 195  
   Code of, ii, 202

Justinian, digest of, ii, 202  
   Pandects of, ii, 202  
   "Novels" of, ii, 203  
   death of, ii, 203  
 Justiniani, John, conduct of, iii, 244  
 Jutland Bank, Battle of, ix, 10

## K

Kaabah, description of the, ii, 205  
   Mohammed resolves to visit, ii, 211  
*Kaga*, Jap carrier, sunk at Midway, x, 117, 126  
*Kalinin Bay*, hit by Jap shells and bombs, x, 292, 295  
 Kamikaze, "Divine Wind," x, 383  
 Kaneohe Bay, naval air station at, x, 92, 94, 97  
   attacked by Japanese planes, x, 93  
 Kapilavastu, i, 99  
 Kara Mustafa, invades Hungary and Austria, iv, 323, 325  
   death of, iv, 328  
 Karl Liebknecht House, ix, 283  
*Karlsruhe*, German cruiser, sunk, x, 41  
 Karpowka, Russian village, retaken, x, 159  
   left a junk yard by the Germans, x, 160  
   gathering point for prisoners, x, 169  
   repairs started in, x, 170  
 KARR, HENRY SETON  
   The Separation of Norway and Sweden, viii, 99  
 Kars, fall of, vi, 342  
   capture of, vii, 134  
 KAY, DAVID  
   The Conquest of Algeria, vi, 219  
 KEELING, ELEONORE D'ESTERRE-  
   The Peace Conference, vii, 247  
 Keitel, Field Marshal Wilhelm, head of the Wehrmacht, surrenders, x, 345  
 Keith, General, v, 149  
 Kellerberg, Baron, vii, 11  
 Kellerman, vi, 6, 7, 10, 13  
 Kellogg-Briand Pact, ix, 270  
   signed and ratified, ix, 257  
   Japan denies violating, ix, 262, 278  
   purpose of, ix, 271  
 Kemal, Mustapha, genius of, ix, 205, 383-392  
   President of Turkey, ix, 216  
   death of, ix, 362  
 Kenilworth, barons at, iii, 72, 73

# INDEX

- Kenney, Lieut. Gen. George C., of Fifth Air Force, **x**, 259
- Kent, **ii**, 188
- Kerensky, Russian Minister of War and Premier, **ix**, 20  
government of, overthrown, **ix**, 21
- Kesseling, Field Marshal Albert, German commander in Italy, **x**, 348  
surrender delegation of, **x**, 351
- Ketteler, Baron von, **vii**, 265, 271
- Key West Railroad, **viii**, 310
- Khan of the Keraites. (*See* Prester John)
- Kharkov, Russia, taken by Germans, **x**, 85
- Khosrou, Persian, **ii**, 213
- Khyber Pass, **vi**, 247
- Kief, **ii**, 274
- Kiel, mutiny at, **ix**, 92
- Kiel Canal, **ix**, 4, 115, 161
- Kimberley, Boers attack, **vii**, 245
- Kimmel, Admiral, Pacific Fleet Commander at Pearl Harbor, measures taken by, **x**, 88, 89, 91
- Kindling, methods of, **vi**, 304
- King Edward VII., **viii**, 257
- King William Land, **vi**, 255, 256; **viii**, 51, 53, 59, 60
- KINGLAKE, A. W.  
The Battle of Inkerman, **vi**, 347
- Kings Bay, base for arctic flights, **ix**, 226, 231, 233, 235, 239, 240
- Kingstown, Jamaica, destroyed by earthquake, **viii**, 217
- Kinkaid, Byrd's motor engineer, **ix**, 234
- Kinkaid, Admiral, **x**, 263, 271, 273
- Kinsel, General, **x**, 349
- Kirin, Manchurian province, **ix**, 262
- Kirk, Alan, **x**, 229
- Kishineff, massacre at, **vii**, 335
- Kiska, occupied, **x**, 171
- Kitchener, **vii**, 204, 245; **viii**, 290; **x**, 8  
Earl, British Secretary of State for War, **ix**, 6  
lost at sea, **ix**, 10
- Kitkun Bay, **x**, 286, 288, 289, 291, 294, 295
- Kit's Coty House, **ii**, 185
- Kitty Hawk, first airplane flight at, **viii**, 368
- Kleber, General, **vi**, 72, 75, 79  
assassinated, **vi**, 90
- Klondike, gold discovered in, **vii**, 204
- KNIGHT, CHARLES  
Battle of St. Quentin and the Loss of Calais, **iv**, 117
- Danish Conquest of England, **ii**, 291
- Destruction of Tea in Boston Harbor, **v**, 247
- Field of Cloth of Gold, **iv**, 49
- The Gunpowder Plot, **iv**, 227
- The Invention of the Steam-Engine, **v**, 227
- The South Sea Bubble, **v**, 133
- The Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, **v**, 295
- Knights of Calatrava, **ii**, 350
- Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, **iii**, 55, 94; **iv**, 141  
are given Malta, **iv**, 87
- Knights Templar, **iii**, 55, 95-98
- Knockout at Midway, The, **x**, 113
- Knox, John, **iv**, 128  
saves the Kirk, **iv**, 135
- Kobe, bombed, **x**, 376
- Koht, Foreign Minister of Norway, **x**, 31, 35, 36
- Koliyans, the, **i**, 99
- Komura, **viii**, 114
- Kongo, **x**, 263
- Konigsmarck murdered, **v**, 66
- Koran. (*See* Qur'an)
- Korea, surrenders to Japan, **viii**, 217  
Japanese methods in, **viii**, 219  
trade controlled by Japan, **viii**, 220
- Russo-Japanese treaty, **viii**, 221  
aversion for Japanese, **viii**, 222
- Mikado's letter, **viii**, 223
- Japanese transaction repudiated, **viii**, 224  
accedes to Japanese demands, **viii**, 225  
treaty with United States, **viii**, 226
- Japanese usurpation, **viii**, 227; **ix**, 276  
signs treaty with Japan, **viii**, 227
- Kosciusko, Thaddeus, **ix**, 54
- Kossuth, **vi**, 279, 280
- Kotzebue, assassination of, **vi**, 181
- Krasnoi, battle of, **vi**, 135
- Krosigk, Lutz Schwerin von, broadcasts of, **x**, 342, 346-7
- Krudener, Baroness, the, **vi**, 177
- Kublai Khan, the Polos visit, **iii**, 84  
and young Marco Polo, **iii**, 87
- Kudur-Lagamer, **i**, 31
- Ku-Klux, **vii**, 92

Kulm, battle of, vi, 166  
 Kume Island, Americans occupy, x, 401  
 Kunersdorf, battle of, v, 204  
 Kung, Prince, surrender of, vi, 246  
 Kutchuks Kainardji, peace of, v, 269  
 Kut-el-Amara, British surrender at, ix, 10, 12  
 Kutusoff, General, vi, 128, 130, 131, 132, 135,  
 138  
 Kwajalein, x, 214  
 Kwang Hsü, vii, 267  
 Kwangsi, ix, 275  
 Kweichow, ix, 275

## L

Labarum, the, ii, 155  
 Labor Cabinet in England, ix, 257  
 Labor-saving machines, vi, 307  
 Labrador, 120,000 square miles of, awarded to  
 Newfoundland, ix, 256  
 Lacedemonians, i, 67, 68, 69, 190, 271, 273  
 Ladrones, the, iv, 44  
 Ladysmith, vii, 245  
 Lafayette, Marquis de, v, 296, 315  
 flight of, v, 320; vi, 6, 7  
 La Fronde, iv, 305  
 La Grande Mademoiselle, iv, 307, 313  
 La Hogue, battle of, v, 55-65  
 Lahore, conquest of, by Akbar, iv, 187  
 Lainez, Iago, iv, 101, 108  
 Lake Erie, battle of, vi, 155-163  
 Lakehurst, N. J., *Graf Zeppelin* reaches, ix, 257  
*Hindenburg* burns near mooring at, ix, 343,  
 344  
 Lamarmora, General, vii, 9  
 LAMARTINE, ALPHONSE DE  
 The Russian Conquest of the Crimea, v, 303  
 Lambert, Count, Viceroy of Poland, vii, 35  
 Lamoricière, General, vi, 230, 274, 315  
 Land League, Irish, vii, 144  
 Landais, Peter, iii, 269  
 Landon, Alfred M., Republican candidate for  
 President, ix, 309  
 Lands, division of, i, 60  
 LANG, ANDREW  
 Bannockburn, iii, 99  
 Battle of Flodden Field, iv, 19  
 Langton, Stephen, Archbishop, iii, 44  
 Language, beginnings of, i, 2 3

Languedoc, iii, 33  
 conquest of, iii, 39  
 rebellion in, iv, 337  
 Lannes, General, vi, 72  
 Larancha, i, 26  
 La Rochelle, iv, 183  
 surrenders, iv, 292  
 Lars Porsena, i, 203  
 La Salle sails down Mississippi, iv, 320  
 Las Casas, Fra Bartolomé, iv, 14  
 Last Sigh of the Moor, iii, 282  
 Latent heat, Black's theory of, v, 230  
 Lateran Treaty, ix, 257  
 Latin America, need of development, viii, 209,  
 210  
 German propaganda in, x, 56  
 Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, iii, 74  
 Latin Empire of Constantinople, iii, 21  
 Latins make war on Rome, i, 205  
 Latvia, enters into pact with Russia, ix, 294  
 joins Russia, x, 75  
 Laud, William, impeachment of, iv, 293  
 LAUGHTON, L. C. CARR  
 The Dogger Bank and After, viii, 41  
 Lausanne, Treaty of, ix, 200, 203, 204, 208,  
 209, 210, 215, 216, 260  
 Senate defeats ratification of, ix, 255  
 Lautrec, Marshal, iv, 59, 71, 73  
 Lauzun, v, 34  
 Laval, Pierre, ix, 319  
 Law, Bonar, becomes Prime Minister, ix, 200  
 Law, John, v, 131  
 failure of, v, 132, 141  
 Law on Debts, ix, 389  
 Law of Jews and Christians, ii, 115  
 Law of Nations, i, 286  
 Lawrence, Dr. Ernest O., cyclotron of, x, 407  
 Lawrence, John, vii, 3  
 Laws, i, 232, 233  
 of Lycurgus, i, 59  
 of Solon, i, 111  
 marriage, i, 116  
 to prevent indifference, i, 115, 116  
 concerning wills, i, 117  
 regarding games, i, 118  
 trade, i, 118  
 naturalization, i, 119  
 regarding oil, i, 119  
 regarding entertainments, i, 120

# INDEX

- Laws, the new, i, 241  
     Roman, ii, 46  
     of Genoa, iv, 82  
     of Justinian ii, 202  
     of navigation, v, 216  
     of Zingis, iii, 25  
     (Code Napoléon), vi, 87  
     (March), vi, 282
- Laws of Lycurgus, i, 59
- Laws of Solon, i, 111
- Layard, British Ambassador to Turkey, vii, 135
- Laying of the Atlantic Cable, vii, 85
- LCT's, x, 178, 180, 319
- League, The, iv, 189
- League, The Catholic, iv, 270  
     of Greek States against Macedon, ii, 21  
     Hanseatic, the, iii, 117, 121  
     The Holy, iv, 7, 172  
     between Lübeck and Hamburg, iii, 117  
     of Mallen, iii, 22  
     the Southern (Italy), iii, 308
- League of Cambray, iv, 1-12, 58; vi, 45
- League of Cambray, iv, 1
- League of Nations, covenant of, ix, 96-114  
     Executive Council, ix, 98  
     permanent secretariat, ix, 99  
     admission to, ix, 100  
     to reduce armaments, ix, 100  
     arbitration necessary, ix, 102  
     court of international justice, ix, 103, 183, 242, 256, 268  
     disputes of non-members, ix, 106  
     to develop backward peoples, ix, 107  
     mandatories, ix, 109  
     treaties to be registered, ix, 110  
     Torriente, President of assembly, ix, 216  
     Council penalizes Greece, ix, 226  
     United States and, ix, 242  
     Germany enters, ix, 242  
     Sino-Japanese question, ix, 262, 266-270, 275, 292  
     appoints Manchurian Commission, ix, 267  
     declares sanctions against Italy, ix, 307
- League of the Balkan States, The, viii, 375
- Lease-Lend Bill, x, 75-76  
     extended to include Russia, x, 83  
     (See also Lend-lease.)
- Lebrun, Charles François, vi, 84
- Leczinski, Stanislaus, v, 165
- Lee, General Robert, vii, 30, 65
- Lefevre, iv, 28
- LEGGE, JAMES  
     Confucius, i, 141  
     The Opening of China, vi, 241
- Legion of Honor, the, vi, 86
- Le Havre, x, 254
- Leicester, ii, 193
- Leigh-Mallory, Sir Trafford, x, 221, 223, 224, 225
- Leipsic, disputation of, iv, 30  
     battle of, iv, 276
- Le Mans, France, Wilbur Wright demonstrates  
     airplane at, ix, 249
- Lend-lease program starts, x, 76, 77, 83  
     supplies to Russia, x, 141-142  
     supplies to 8th Army, x, 143  
     program ends, x, 408
- Lenin, Nikolai, death of, ix, 219-224
- Leningrad, ix, 230; x, 85
- LENORMANT, FRANCOIS  
     The Deluge, i, 11  
     First Destruction of Nineveh, i, 71  
     The Founding of Carthage, i, 53
- Leo, Bishop of Rome, ii, 176
- Leo, the Emperor, ii, 249
- Leo, the Deacon, ii, 276
- Leo I., ii, 164, 165
- Leo III., succeeds Pope Hadrian, ii, 254  
     attack on, ii, 254  
     motives of, ii, 256  
     separated from the Eastern Empire, ii, 246
- Leo VI., the Philosopher, ii, 275
- Leo X., authorizes sale of indulgences, iv, 29  
     treaty of, with Charles V., iv, 57  
     death of, iv, 58
- Leo XIII., Pope, vii, 357  
     twenty-fifth anniversary of, vii, 334-335  
     is elected Pope, vii, 366  
     talents and characteristics of, vii, 367
- Leo XIII., A Retrospect, vii, 359
- Leonidas, i, 209, 221
- Leontis, i, 218
- Leopold, Duke of Austria, captures Richard  
     Cœur de Lion, iii, 8  
     takes Crusaders to Germany, iii, 3
- Leopold, Emperor, iv, 321  
     and Sobieski, iv, 324
- Leopold, Prince of Hohenzollern, vii, 117

- Leopold III., King of Belgium, ix, 294, 328  
     surrenders Army to Germany, x, 59, 60, 64  
 Lepanto, battle of, iv, 148  
 Lepidus, ii, 51, 52, 56  
 Lerin, the Count, cruelty of, iii, 346  
 Lesseps, de, vi, 355; vii, 111, 379  
 Letter from Iwo Jima, A, x, 315  
 Leucopetra, battle of, ii, 36  
 Leuctra, battle of, i, 296  
 Leuthen, battle of, v, 195, 204  
 Levant, ix, 204, 205, 208, 210, 215  
     in empire, ix, 206  
 Levant Company, v, 175  
 Levantine people, ix, 203  
 Levine, Charles, ix, 246  
 Lewes, battle of, iii, 68  
 Lewis and Clark Exposition, viii, 135  
 Lewis of Nassau, iv, 158, 184  
 Lexington (Mass.), British retreat from, v, 266  
*Lexington*, U. S. carrier, x, 257  
 Leyden, University of, founded, iv, 161  
     siege of, iv, 161  
 Leyte Island, x, 255, 259-261, 263, 285, 286,  
     287, 293, 300, 312  
 Leyva, Antonio de, iv, 74  
 Liberation of Genoa: Andrea Doria, iv, 79  
 Liberia, ix, 113, 133  
 Libertines, the, iv, 37  
 Liberty ship construction, x, 138  
 Libya, ii, 36; x, 142, 146  
 Lichfield, ii, 193  
 Licinius, ii, 154  
     becomes Emperor of the East, ii, 156  
     death of, ii, 157  
 LIDDELL, HENRY GEORGE  
     The Fall of Carthage, ii, 23  
     The Fall of Greece, ii, 37  
 Liegnitz, battle of, v, 197  
 Life-raft, *America's* crew lands in, ix, 248  
 Light Brigade, charge of the, vi, 333  
 Ligny, battle of, vi, 173  
 Lille, capture of, v, 89; x, 60, 61  
 "Lillibullero," ballad of, v, 21  
 Lima founded, iv, 17  
 Limerick, the siege of, v, 41  
 Limitation of naval armament, conference on,  
     ix, 184  
 Linant Bey, vii, 110  
 Lincoln, Abraham, abolishes slavery, vii, 54  
     upon slavery, vii, 55  
     message of 1862, vii, 59  
     and his divided cabinet, vii, 62  
     and General Meade, vii, 79  
     assassinated, vii, 80  
 Lindbergh, Charles Augustus, transatlantic  
     flight of, ix, 243  
     takes off from Roosevelt Field, ix, 245  
     significance of flight of, ix, 246, 252  
     personality of, ix, 254, 255  
 Lindiswara, the, ii, 193  
 Linevitch, General, viii, 86, 108  
 Lion of the North, the, v, 92  
 Lippe, ii, 82  
 Lippmann, Gabriel, vii, 200  
 Liprandi, General, vi, 340  
 Lisbon, earthquake at, v, 185  
 Lischer, Carl, x, 304  
 Lisle, Rouget de, v, 320  
 Lister, vii, 80  
 Lithuania, claims of, ix, 55  
     Memel assigned to, ix, 201  
     in pact with Russia, ix, 294  
     accedes to Polish demands, ix, 345  
     cedes Memel to Germany, ix, 381  
     joins Russia, x, 64, 75  
 "Little America," ix, 308  
 Litvinov (Litvinoff), Maxim, x, 12  
 Liudprand, King of Lombards, ii, 249  
 Livingstone, David, vii, 129  
     discovers Victoria Falls, viii, 123  
 Livius, ii, 11, 14, 18-19  
 LIVY  
     The Gaul's First Attack on Rome, i, 285  
 Lloyd George, David, introduces Unemployed  
     Insurance, viii, 279  
     becomes Secretary of War, ix, 11  
     becomes Prime Minister, ix, 12  
 Loch Leven, iv, 132  
 Lockard, Joseph L., x, 91  
 Locrians, the, i, 301  
 Lodbrok, Regnar, ii, 262  
 LODGE, SIR OLIVER  
     Radium and Its Lessons, viii, 1  
 LODGE, RICHARD  
     The Counter-Reformation, iv, 99  
     The Hanseatic League, iii, 113  
     The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, iv, 183



# INDEX

## LODGE, RICHARD

Rise of the Dutch Republic, iv, 151

The Second Republic and the Second Empire in France, vi, 311

Western Europe and the Holy Alliance, vi, 177

Loiera, battle of, iii, 156

Loire, Army of the, vii, 124

Lombards, conversion of the, ii, 167

attack Rome, ii, 245-246, 247

Lombardy, conquered by Charlemagne, ii, 246, 251

Iron Crown of, vi, 89

## LONDON, JACK

The San Francisco Disaster, viii, 175

London, fortress of, ii, 192

fall of, ii, 299

siege of, ii, 301

Tower of, ii, 311

capture of, iii, 47

riot in, iii, 67

Hansa, influence of the, iii, 115

treaty of, vi, 206

Agreement of, ix, 225

Naval Conference in, ix, 257, 258

air raids on, x, 312

London Naval Treaty, U. S. Senate ratifies, ix, 258

Long, Huey P., Governor of Louisiana, assassination of, ix, 307

Long Parliament, the, iv, 293

Longstreet, General, vii, 65, 71, 75

Longueville, Duchess de, iv, 307, 308, 310, 311

Longwy, capture of, vi, 7

## LORE, LUDWIG

Europe Completes a Cycle, x, 11

Lorraine, conquered by Henry I. of Germany, ii, 280

centre of Burgundian empire, iii, 259

in Franco-German war, vii, 123, 127

"Loss of face," for Japan, ix, 269

Louis VIII., son of Philip Augustus, iii, 38

Louis IX. (Saint), annuls Oxford Provisions, iii, 65

on Sixth Crusade, iii, 60

death of, iii, 74

Louis XI., humbles Burgundy, iii, 305

Louis XII., cruelties of, iv, 2

Louis XIV., iv, 313, 315

attacks Germany, v, 22

English invasion attempt of, v, 64

empire of, v, 69

campaigns of, v, 76

successive afflictions of, v, 105-107

death of, v, 115, 119

Louis XV., accession of, v, 144

marriage of, v, 144

Louis XVI., marriage of, v, 237

accession of, v, 313

flight of, v, 319

execution of, v, 321

Louis XVIII., vi, 178, 181, 184, 186

accession of, vi, 175

Louis Napoleon. (See Napoleon III.)

Louis of Baden, v, 41

Louis Philippe, v, 320; vi, 270, 272

abdication and flight of, vi, 273

Louisa of Savoy, iv, 62, 75

Louisbourg, siege of, v, 171

capture of, v, 206

Louisiana, named, iv, 320

purchased by United States, vi, 103

Purchase Act, viii, 136

Louvois, Marquis de, iv, 333

Loyola, Ignatius, iv, 101

Lübeck, importance of, iii, 116

and Hamburg, alliance of, iii, 117, 118, 121

Venice of the North, iii, 145

Lucanians, the, ii, 48

Lucius II., death of, iii, 132

Lucknow, treaty of, v, 337

Lucretia, story of, i, 197

Lucullus, ii, 25, 37

Lucullus, Lucius Licinius, ii, 50

Lüders, Count (Poland), vii, 35

Ludwig II. of Bavaria, vii, 127, 158

Lumber industry, viii, 143

Lunéville, treaty of, vi, 85

Lusitania, Roman architecture in, ii, 236

*Lusitania*, launched, viii, 200

breaks trans-Atlantic record, viii, 230

torpedoed and sunk, ix, 9

Luther, Hans, German Chancellor, ix, 225

resigns presidency of *Reichsbank*, ix, 289

Luther, Martin, Reformation of, iv, 27, 28, 75

in Rome, iv, 29

burns Papal bull, iv, 31-32

Luther, Martin, translates New Testament, iv,  
33  
marriage of, iv, 34  
Lutter, battle of, iv, 272  
Luxembourg, Palace of, vi, 30  
Luxembourg, defeats King William, v, 65  
invaded in World War I, ix, 5  
Germany renounces treaties with, ix, 121  
economic union with Belgium, ix, 198  
pact with Oslo states, x, 25  
Germany invades in World War II, x, 64  
Luxury, regulations against, i, 64  
Luzon, x, 259, 264, 267, 270  
invaded, x, 313  
Aparri won, x, 386  
freed, x, 401  
Lvov (Lvoff), Prince, Russian Premier, ix, 13,  
20  
Lycurgus, i, 57  
valor of, i, 67  
his regulations of burials, i, 69  
expels Peisistratae, i, 183  
Lydia, conquest of, i, 153-161  
Lydians, bravery of the, i, 154  
Cyrus surprises the, i, 155  
Lymne, fall of, ii, 188  
Lyons, persecutions at, ii, 114  
Lys River, x, 60  
Lytton, Lord, heads Commission on Manchuria,  
ix, 262, 267  
report of, ix, 267, 268, 269, 278

## M

McAfee, Mildred H., of Waves, x, 132  
MacArthur, Douglas, invades Leyte, x, 255  
lands on Mindoro, x, 312  
at Atsugi Airfield, x, 408  
arranges Japanese surrender, x, 412  
receives Japanese surrender, x, 414-415  
McCampbell, David, Navy ace, x, 267,  
281-282  
MACAULAY, THOMAS BABINGTON  
The Battle of La Hogue, v, 55  
Battle of the Boyne, v, 29  
The Massacre of Glencoe, v, 43  
The Trial of the Seven Bishops, v, 1  
The War Between Charles I. and the Parlia-  
ment, iv, 295  
McCARTHY, JUSTIN  
The Congress of Berlin, vii, 131  
The Crimean War, vi, 329  
McClusky, Clarence, x, 116, 117  
Macdonald, General, vii, 228  
MacDonald, Ramsay, Labor Prime Minister, ix,  
224, 225, 257, 258, 259, 356  
Macedon, pretender to throne of, ii, 39  
Macedonia, growing power of, i, 296  
state of, ii, 39  
wars of, ii, 21, 36  
German army evacuates, ix, 9  
Macedonian phalanx, i, 318, 319  
Machado y Morales, Gerardo, flees from Cuba,  
ix, 293  
Machinery for agriculture, vi, 309  
Maclan of Glencoe, v, 44, 49  
Mack, General, vi, 109  
McKenna, Captain, x, 297  
MACKENZIE, ROBERT  
The Beginning of Free Trade, vi, 233  
The Emancipation of the Serfs, vii, 25  
End of the Pope's Temporal Power and Uni-  
fication of Italy, vii, 17  
Modern Inventions, vi, 299  
McKinley, William, assassination of, vii, 279,  
281-287  
MacMahon, Marshal, vii, 120  
McManes, Kenmore M., feat of, x, 276  
Macon, dirigible, wrecked, ix, 307  
Madagascar discovered, iii, 350, vii, 150, 179  
Madayn, sack of, ii, 222  
Madero, Francisco I., made Provisional Presi-  
dent of Mexico, viii, 278  
character of, viii, 285  
reasons for success, viii, 284, 285  
elected President of Mexico, viii, 290  
Madras, acquired by the English, v, 174  
built, iv, 293  
Madras Presidency, v, 340  
Madrid, treaty of, iv, 65  
Maes, Army of the, vii, 123  
Mafeking, Boers attack, vii, 245  
Magalhaens, Fernam de, youth of, iv, 39  
renounces Portugal, iv, 40  
fleet of, iv, 41  
embarks, iv, 42  
explorations of, iv, 42  
discovers the Philippines, iv, 44

# INDEX

- Magalhaens**, Fernande, expedition against  
     **Matan**, iv, 46  
     death of, iv, 46-47  
     expedition returns, iv, 47  
**Magdeburg**, sack of, iv, 275  
     archbishopric of, founded, ii, 287  
**Magellan**. (*See* Magalhaens)  
**Magenta**, battle of, vii, 13  
**Magians** of Persia, fall of the, ii, 245  
**Magna Charta**, ii, 300; iii, 62; iv, 319  
     drawn up, iii, 47-48  
     terms of the, iii, 50  
     (*See also* Charter, the Great)  
**Magna Charta, The**, iii, 41  
**Magnan**, General, vi, 315  
**Magnesia**, battle of, ii, 22  
**Magnus** of Norway, iii, 117  
**Magnuson**, Senator, on atom bomb, x, 403  
**Mago**, ii, 6  
**Magyars**, the, ii, 269  
     persecution of the, iv, 322  
     aspirations of, vi, 279  
     oppressions of, ix, 80-84, 86, 88, 208  
**Mahan**, Admiral, x, 132  
**Mahdi**, El, vii, 146  
**Mahdism**, rise of, vii, 145-149  
     end of, vii, 221  
**Mahmoud**, Sultan, vi, 205  
**Mahomet**. (*See* Mohammed)  
**Mahomet II.**, at Constantinople, iii, 233, 239  
     takes Constantinople, iii, 244-245  
     conquers Athens, iii, 254  
**Mahommed IV.** (Sultan), iv, 323  
**Maid** of Orleans (*See* Joan of Arc)  
**Maine**, the battleship, vii, 204  
     final report on wreck, viii, 291  
**Maitland** and **Hegenberger**, flight of, ix, 254  
**MAJOR, RICHARD HENRY**  
     First Voyage Around the World, iv, 39  
     Voyages of Vasco Da Gama, iii, 317  
**Makaleh**, capitulation, vii, 155  
**Makin**, x, 182  
**Makta**, battle of, vi, 226  
**Malakoff**, assault of the, vi, 340  
**Malaya**, Japan attacks, x, 110  
**Maldon**, battle of, ii, 292  
**Malek-Adhel**, Sultan, iii, 16  
**Mallen**, League of, iii, 22  
**MALLESON, G. B.**  
     Liberation of Genoa: Andrea Doria, iv, 79  
**Maloria**, Genoese victorious at, iii, 82  
**Malplaquet**, v, 89  
**Malta**, iv, 87; vii, 139; x, 178, 226  
     Turkish assault on, iv, 141-146  
     captured by Napoleon, vi, 55  
**Malta and Lepanto**, iv, 141  
**Malwa**, conquered by Akbar, iv, 187  
**Mamelukes**, take Egypt, iii, 60  
     occupy Damascus and Aleppo, iii, 74  
     destroyed, vi, 120  
     take Antioch, iii, 74  
**Man**, prehistoric, i, 1-10  
**Manchukuo**, nominally independent, ix, 261  
     recognized by Japan, ix, 262, 272  
     policies of Japan, in, ix, 263, 276  
     government of, ix, 263, 264  
     Henry Pu-Yi ruler of, ix, 259, 264, 294  
     understanding with Russia on, ix, 273, 274  
     Great Britain's attitude towards, ix, 275  
     League's attitude towards, ix, 292  
**Manchuria**  
     Russia agrees to evacuate, vii, 279  
     in Russo-Japanese War, viii, 16, 17, 30, 46,  
         63, 65-70, 71, 76, 77-86, 110, 120, 217,  
         221  
     siege of Port Arthur, viii, 16, 30, 65-70  
     capture of Mukden, viii, 77-86, 110  
     Japanese gains in, viii, 120  
     Russian Army evacuates, viii, 217  
     Plague in, viii, 279  
     Japanese conquest of, ix, 259, 261  
     Lytton Report on, ix, 267, 268, 269, 278  
     Russia invades, x, 402  
     (*See* Manchukuo)  
**Manchuria: A New Act in the World**  
     Drama, ix, 261  
**Manchus**, dynasty of the, iv, 304; viii, 297-299,  
     304-307, 310; ix, 372  
     arrogance of the, vi, 241  
**Mandalay**, x, 330  
**Manfred**, iii, 77  
**Manhattan Island**, discovery of, iv, 245-247  
     trading-post, iv, 248  
     purchased, iv, 253  
     "Manhattan Project," x, 406  
**Manila**, captured by the British, v, 211  
     falls to Japanese, x, 110

- Manila, liberated, x, 313  
 Japanese surrender delegation at, x, 412  
 Manila Bay, battle of, vii, 235-245  
 Manilius, ii, 26, 28, 29  
 Manin, Daniele, vi, 283  
 Manoel the Fortunate, King of Portugal, iii, 318  
 Mansfeldt, Count, iv, 271  
 Manteuffel, General von, vii, 124  
 Mantinea, battle of, i, 296, 332  
 Mantua, Congress of, iv, 10  
 Manu, legend of, i, 15  
 Manuel, proclaimed king of Portugal, viii, 230  
 Maquauqas, Governor of Egypt, ii, 213  
 Mar, Earl of, v, 115, 123, 126  
   sets up Pretender's standard, v, 120  
 Marat, v, 321  
 Márátha Confederacy, v, 338  
 Márátha War, v, 338  
 Marathon, i, 209  
   plain of, i, 213  
   battle of, i, 214-220  
 Marcel, Stephen, iii, 160  
   aids the Jacques, iii, 165  
 Marcellus defeats Hannibal, i, 332  
 MARCH, GENERAL P. C.  
   A Chronology of the Major American Operations in France, 1918, ix, 23  
 "March Laws," the, vi, 282  
 Marcian, dream of, ii, 179  
 Marco Polo's Travels, iii, 83  
 Marconi, Guglielmo, vii, 191, 245  
 Marcus Antoninus defeats the confederacy of German nations, ii, 142  
 Marcus Aurelius, ii, 112  
 Marcus Horatius, i, 203  
 Marcus Papirius, i, 292  
 Mardion, ii, 57  
 Mardonius, i, 211  
 Marengo, battle of, vi, 85  
 Marescotti, Count Luigi A., ix, 267  
 Marfori, vii, 103  
 Margaret of Austria, iv, 1, 75  
 Margaret of Navarre, iv, 185  
 Margaret of Parma, iv, 152, 156, 157  
 Maria Theresa, succeeds to Austrian throne, v, 165-166  
   and Silesia, v, 167-169  
   mother of Marie Antoinette, v, 237  
   objects to partition of Poland, v, 241-242  
 Marie Antoinette, v, 237, 313  
 Marie Charlotte, Empress, vii, 50  
 Marie, Dowager Queen of Rumania, dies, ix, 345  
 Marinowka, x, 156-158, 160  
 Marius, ii, 44, 48  
 MARKHAM, ALBERT HASTINGS  
   Cook's Australian Discoveries, v, 221  
   The Discovery of the Northwest Passage, vi, 249  
 Marlborough, ability of, v, 74  
   scheme of, v, 78  
   march of, v, 78  
   meets Prince Eugène, v, 80  
   at Blenheim, v, 83  
   Tournay and Malplaquet, v, 89  
   wins victory at Ramillies, v, 89  
 Marriage, customs, origins of, i, 92  
   laws, i, 116  
 Married Women's Property Act, vii, 144  
 Marseillaise, the, v, 320  
 Marshall, William, iii, 47  
 Marshall Islands, x, 214, 259, 412  
 Marsin, Marshal, v, 79, 82  
 Mars-la-Tour, battle of, vii, 121  
 Marston Moor, battle of, iv, 301  
 Martin V., Pope, iii, 174  
   elected, iii, 194-195  
 MARTIN, HENRI  
   The Jacquerie, iii, 161  
 Martin, Captain H. M., x, 92  
 MARTIN, SIR THEODORE  
   The Great Exhibition, vi, 289  
 Martinique settled, iv, 293  
 Martyr, Peter, iv, 99, 104  
 Martyrs, Castle of the, ii, 236  
 Martyrs, the Roman bishops, ii, 163  
 Marx, Wilhelm, heads German cabinet, ix, 216  
 Mary, mother of Christ, ii, 73, 76, 103  
 Mary I. restores Roman Catholic religion in England, iv, 109  
   persecutes Protestants, iv, 109  
 Mary Stuart, iv, 125  
   returns to Scotland, iv, 129  
   ambitions of, iv, 132  
   sent to Loch Leven, iv, 132  
   cause of, ended, iv, 138  
   execution of, iv, 174  
 Maryland, colonized, iv, 292

# INDEX

- Maryland*, x, 102, 275  
*Masaniello*, revolt of, iv, 304  
*Masaryk*, Thomas B., President of Czechoslovakia, ix, 91, 183  
*Masinissa*, ü, 23, 48  
*Mason and Dixon* boundary line, v, 175  
*MASPERO*, G.  
     Conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes, i, 173  
     The Fall of Tyre and the Siege of Jerusalem, i, 123  
*Massachusetts*, arms for war, v, 265  
*Massachusetts Bay Company*, the, iv, 292  
*Massacre*, in Antwerp, iv, 164  
     of Bonaparte prisoners, vi, 73  
     in Cabul, vi, 247  
     of Chios, vi, 203; ix, 206  
     of Christians at Constantinople (1453), iii, 245-246  
     of Christians at Damascus, vii, 15  
     in Crete, vii, 179  
     of English missionaries in China, viii, 162  
     of the French, iii, 82  
     of Glencoe, v, 51  
     of the Greeks, v, 240  
     of Hindus, iii, 180  
     of the Infidels, ii, 347  
     of Jews in Bessarabia, vii, 346  
     of Jews in England, ii, 350  
     of Jews in Russia, vii, 335; viii, 127  
     of Latins in Constantinople, iii, 15-16  
     in Madagascar, vi, 248  
     of the Maronites, vii, 15  
     by the Moguls, iii, 186  
     of the Moguls, iii, 187  
     of Peterloo, vi, 199  
     in Poland, vii, 34  
     of Prato, iv, 10  
     of St. Bartholomew, iv, 137, 185-186  
     of St. Brice, ii, 296  
     of Shekan, vii, 146  
     in Spain, vii, 98  
     of Turcomans, vii, 144  
*Massacre of Glencoe*, The, v, 43  
*Massacre of St. Bartholomew*, The, iv, 183  
*Massacre of the Jews in Russia*, vii, 337  
*Mastanarbal*, ii, 29  
*Matabele*, vii, 168  
*Match*, the sulphur, vi, 305  
*Mathan*, i, 53  
*Matilda*, Countess of Tuscany, ü, 325, 349  
*Matthias*, the Emperor, iv, 269  
*Matthias of Austria*, Archduke, iv, 162  
*Matthias of Hungary* takes Bosnia, iii, 255  
*Maud of Denmark*, viii, 206  
*Maupas*, M. de, vi, 315  
*Maurice of Nassau*, iv, 164  
*Maurice of Saxony*, iv, 105  
*Mauritania*, ii, 227  
*Mauritius*, France occupies, v, 144  
*Maxentius* (Emperor), ii, 154  
*Maxim* gun, vii, 150  
*Maximian*, persecution under, ii, 117, 154  
*Maximilian I.*, and League of Cambray, iv, 1  
     death of, iv, 57  
*Maximilian*, of Bavaria, iv, 273  
*Maximilian*, Archduke of Austria, Mexico offered to, vii, 49  
     arrives in Mexico, vii, 50  
     decrees of, vii, 51  
     execution of, vii, 53  
*Maximilian Sforza* (Duke of Milan), iv, 9  
*Maximin*, Emperor, ii, 115, 154, 156  
*Maybrick*, Mrs. Florence, viii, 16  
*Mayenne*, Duke de, iv, 196, 198, 201  
*Mayflower* sails from Plymouth, iv, 287  
*Mazarin*, iv, 315  
     forced to leave France, iv, 312  
     recalled, iv, 313  
*Mazdeism*, i, 35, 40  
*Mazeppa*, v, 89  
*Mazzini*, founds Young Europe, vi, 231  
*Meade*, General, vii, 65, 67, 69, 70-80  
*MEAKIN, BUDGETT*  
     The Algeciras Conference, viii, 147  
*Meaux*, attack upon, iii, 166  
*Mecca*, makes truce with Mohammed, ü, 212  
     accepts the new prophet, ii, 209  
*Mecca*, the sacred city, ii, 205  
*Mecklenburg*, Grand Duke of, vii, 125  
*Medes*, repulse of, i, 138  
     victory of the, i, 137  
*Medici*, family, antiquity of the, iii, 171  
     wealth, source of the, iii, 174  
     authority, nature of the, iii, 175  
     returns to Florence, iii, 310-311  
     flight of the, iii, 311  
     expelled, iv, 87  
     last of the, v, 166

- Medici, Alessandro (Alexander) de', iv, 12, 75
- Medici, Catherine de', iv, 184, 191, 193
- Medici, Cosmo de', iii, 173
  - aids Venetian Republic, iii, 177
- Medici, Giovanni, de', iii, 172
  - as Pope Leo X., iv, 11
- Medici, Giuliano de', iv, 11
- Medici, Giulio de', killed, iii, 268
- Medici, Giulio de', (Clement VII.), iv, 12
- Medici, Ippolito de', iv, 12
- Medici, Lorenzo de', iii, 173, 268; iv, 11
- Medici, Pietro de', iii, 308
  - returns to Florence, iii, 310-311
  - cowardice of, iii, 310
- Medici, Salvstro de', iii, 171
- Medieval travel, dangers of, iii, 113-114
- Medieval wars, nature of, iii, 305
- Medina Sidonia, Duke of, iv, 178
- Megacles, i, 183, 191
- Megalopolis, battle of, i, 310
- Megara, battle of, ii, 32
- Mehemet Ali, vi, 205, 231, 239
  - conquests of, vi, 199, 230
- Mehemet Ali Pacha, vi, 120
- Meitner, Dr. Lise, x, 407
- Mejia, vii, 49, 52
- Melancthon, iv, 28
- Melchthal of Unterwalden, iii, 92
- Memel, assigned to Lithuania, ix, 201, 224
  - ceded to Germany, ix, 381
- Mencius, i, 141
- Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, iii, 339, 344
- Menelik, King of Shoa, vii, 152, 157
- Menes, i, 19
- Menidas, i, 325
- Menou, General, vi, 38, 42
- Mentschikoff, Prince, vi, 330, 353
- MENZIES, SUTHERLAND
  - Consolidation of Germany by Henry I., ii, 279
  - Council of Constance and the Hussite War, iii, 191
  - The Downfall of Napoleon, vi, 165
  - The Swiss Confederacy: the Swiss War of Independence, iii, 91
  - War of the Austrian Succession, v, 165
- Mercantile settlements, important, iii, 115
- Mercator makes his chart, iv, 109
- Mercenaries, Carthage employs, ii, 5
- Merchant Shipping Bill, vii, 130
- Mercians, the, ii, 193
- Merida reduced by Musa, ii, 237
- MERIVALE, CHARLES
  - Fall of the Decemvirate, i, 235
- Merv, vii, 150
- Mesopotamia, ix, 9, 183
- Metals, early discovery of, i, 10
- Metaurus, battle of the, ii, 17-20
- Metellus, ii, 40, 44
- Methodism, rise of, v, 155-163
- Methodists, v, 157, 161
- Methuen, General, vii, 245
- Methuen, treaty of commerce, v, 67
- Metternich, vi, 180, 181, 204, 281; ix, 81
- Metz, surrender of, vii, 124
- Mexican War, vi, 258
- Mexico, conquered by Cortés, iv, 15
  - expedition to, iv, 88
  - Iturbide becomes Emperor, vi, 217
  - war with United States, vi, 258
  - empire of, vii, 49, 51
  - government control of railroads, viii, 216
  - anti-Diaz riots, viii, 243
  - Diaz reelected, viii, 263
  - Madero provisional president, viii, 278
  - Diaz resigns, viii, 279
  - work of Diaz, viii, 281-290
  - Diaz plans of reform, viii, 289
  - Madero elected president, viii, 290
  - revolutionists defeated, viii, 320
  - General Huerta proclaimed provisional president, viii, 380
  - rebels capture Ojinaga City, viii, 381
  - American fleet sent to Tampico, viii, 382
  - Vera Cruz captured by U. S. forces, viii, 382
  - A.B.C. Conference about, ix, 4
  - brigands attack Columbus, ix, 10
  - debt of, ix, 198
  - ends oil pact with U. S., ix, 344
  - recalls Minister to Great Britain, ix, 345
  - expropriates U. S. owned lands, ix, 380
  - declares war on Axis, x, 111
- MICHELET, JULES
  - The First Crusade, ii, 335
  - The Fourth Crusade, ii, 11
  - Nancy—Death of Charles the Bold, iii, 257
  - The Sicilian Vespers, iii, 75
- Michelet, Jules, quotation from, ii, 4

# INDEX

MICHIE, ALLAN A.

The Invasion, x, 215

Micipsa, ii, 29

Microphone invented, vii, 130

Middle East, German drive toward, x, 140, 142

Middle English, the, ii, 193

Midhat Pasha, viii, 235

Midway, Battle of, x, 111, 113

U. S. carriers locate Japanese fleet, x, 114-115

Japanese ships sunk in, x, 117, 122, 123

U. S. ships losses, x, 119, 120, 130

second U. S. attack, x, 128

U. S. fleet pursues Japanese, x, 129, 130-131

complete victory of, x, 132, 300

Mies, battle of, iii, 197

Mihai (Michael), Rumanian prince, succeeds

King Ferdinand, ix, 256

succeeds Carol, x, 75

*Mikuma*, x, 131

Milan, King of Serbia, vii, 159

Milan, Attila in, ii, 173

destroyed by Franks, ii, 200

Republic, established, ii, 350; iii, 226

miseries in, iv, 66

Bonaparte crowned in, vi, 89

Fascisti in, ix, 199

Allies seize, x, 339

Milford-Haven, Richmond at, iii, 270

Military Surgery, x, 301

MILLER, J. R.

The Siege of Acre, vi, 71

MILMAN, HENRY HART

The Jews Expelled from Spain, iii, 285

Order of the Teutonic Knights, iii, 55

Miltiades, i, 214

Milyukov, M., ix, 13

Mindanao, x, 259, 264

Minden, battle of, v, 205

Mindoro, invasion of, x, 312

Minerva, Castle of, iii, 36

Minerva, the false, i, 184

Ming dynasty, fall of the, iv, 304

Minimum Wage Law, ix, 308, 343

Mining, prehistoric, i, 8

Minuit, Peter, buys Manhattan, iv, 253

Minute Men, the, v, 261, 267

Mirabeau, Comte de, v, 316, 317, 318

Miracle of American Production, The,

x, 203

Miracle of Rain, ii, 114

Miramón, vii, 48, 53

Mirandola attacked, iv, 6

Mise of Lewes, iii, 69-70

Mississippi Company founded, v, 131

*Missouri*, x, 408, 413, 414-415

MITFORD, WILLIAM

The Delphic Oracle, i, 43

Expulsion of the Peisistratæ, i, 183

Mithridatès, King of Pontos, ii, 50

Mithridatic Wars, ii, 50

Mitscher, Marc, x, 257, 258, 264, 266, 270,

273, 279, 281, 284, 285, 297

Mocenigo, Luigi, the Doge, iv, 148

Modern Illumination, vi, 213

Modern Inventions, vi, 299

*Mogami*, Japanese cruiser, x, 131

Mogul Emperor, iii, 30; vii, 1

Moguls, territory of the, iii, 31

massacred by Tamerlane, iii, 187

the, begin a massacre, iii, 187

empire of the Great, founded, iv, 87

reign of Akbar, third emperor of, iv, 111-115

Mohammed, the Prophet, spread of religion of,

ii, 217

ancestry of, ii, 207

birth of, ii, 207

physical constitution of, ii, 207

revelations of, ii, 208

escape of, ii, 210

hegira of, ii, 211

and the spider, legend of, ii, 210

establishes his religion, ii, 211

makes truce with Mecca, ii, 212

preaches the Holy War, ii, 211

enters Mecca, ii, 213

last pilgrimage of, ii, 213

death of, ii, 214

religion of, estimate of, ii, 214

turned at first to Jews for support,

ii, 215

Mohammed, the Sultan, fall of, iii, 30

Mohammed I., founds Granada, ii, 60

Mohammed II., at Belgrade, iii, 254

Mohammed VI., ix, 94, 200

Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, vii, 145

Mohammedans, vii, 4, 5

Molay, John de, execution of, iii, 97

Moley, Raymond I., x, 125

- Molotov, V. M., Russian Foreign Commissar, ix, 392; x, 22  
 conference with Eden and Hull, x, 182  
 at San Francisco Conference, x, 390-392
- Moltke, Count von, vii, 118, 119
- Monasteries, Henry VIII. destroys, iv, 89
- Money, coining in Rome, iii, 133
- Money, iron, i, 61
- Mongolia, ix, 262  
 Russia to have free hand in, ix, 274
- Mongolia, Inner, declared independent, ix, 259
- Mongols, the, iii, 82; ix, 372
- Monitor and *Merrimac*, vii, 41
- Monitor Republics, suggested, viii, 215
- Monmouth, execution of, iv, 329
- Monothelism, i, 41
- Monroe Doctrine, vi, 217; vii, 52; ix, 118  
 in first Pan-American Congress, viii, 212  
 in Manchukuo question, ix, 266
- Mons, vii, 94; ix, 6  
 French take, v, 41  
 surrender of, v, 89
- Mons Sacer, the, i, 237, 240
- Montcalm, v, 207
- Mont Cenis tunnel, vii, 129
- Montebello, battle of, vii, 13
- Montebourg, x, 246-247
- Monte Cassino, blasted, x, 214
- Montenegrins, attitude of, toward Serbia, ix, 78
- Montenegro, vii, 130, 141; ix, 46, 67, 68, 71, 75  
 declares war against Turkey, vii, 131
- Montevideo, *Graf Spee* seeks refuge in, x, 27
- Montezuma, iv, 15
- Montferrat, Conrad of, iii, 4, 6  
 quarrel with Guy, iii, 6
- Montgolfier, Joseph and Stephen, experiment with balloons, viii, 356
- Montgomery, Lieut. Gen. Bernard, heads British Eighth Army, x, 144  
 European invasion conference, x, 220, 223  
 German army surrenders to, x, 343-344, 349-350
- Montmorency, the Constable, iv, 118
- Montejo, Admiral, vii, 241, 242, 244
- Montpensier, Duke of, vii, 102
- Montserrat, Boniface of, ii, 13
- Mooker Heath, battle of, iv, 161
- MOORE, J. HAMPTON  
 Peary's Discovery of the North Pole, viii, 245
- Moors, of Granada, dismay of, iii, 278  
 civilization of the, iii, 283-284  
 in Granada, liberty of, iii, 339  
 outbreak in Spain of, iii, 343  
 rebellion of, iii, 344  
 expulsion of, from Spain, iii, 348-349
- Morat, battle of, iii, 260
- Moravia, vi, 113
- Moravians found Bethlehem, Penn., v, 154  
 defend church, ix, 81
- Moray, Earl of, assassination of the, iv, 134
- Morea conquered by Venice, vi, 49
- Moreau, vi, 85, 88, 165
- Morgan, W. D., x, 348
- Morgarten, battle of, iii, 94
- Morgenthau, Henry, ix, 215
- Moriscos, The, iii, 339
- Moriscos, the, iii, 339; iv, 146
- Mormons, gains of the, vi, 267
- Mornington, Lord, v, 335
- Morny, M. de, vi, 315
- Morocco, dispute over, viii, 147-153; ix, 133, 134, 349  
 French protectorate established, viii, 311  
 Sultan abdicates, viii, 320  
 American landings in, x, 135, 147
- Morone, Jerome, treatment of, iv, 62, 64
- Morotai Island, x, 254
- MORRIS, FRANK D., *et al.*  
 America's Greatest Naval Battle, x, 257
- Mortimer, iii, 70
- Mosciki, President of Poland, x, 16
- Moscow, ix, 79, 219, 223, 224, 354, 373, 374, 376  
 fired, vi, 129  
 aids Spanish Communists, ix, 312
- Moscow Campaign, The, vi, 121
- Moslems (Muslims), army of, ii, 219  
 troops, disorder of, ii, 243  
 chivalry of, iii, 276  
 and Spain, iii, 339-349  
 power of, in India, vii, 2
- Moulton, Mahumud blockaded in, iii, 181
- Mount Arafat, Mohammed on, ii, 213
- Mount Badon, Britons win at, ii, 191
- Montteagle, Lord, iv, 231  
 visits Salisbury, iv, 227
- Mount 'Hirâ, Mohammed at, ii, 208
- Mount Thabir, ii, 208



# INDEX

- Mount Thaur, Mohammed at, ii, 210  
Moving pictures, viii, 316  
Mowbray, Philip de, iii, 103  
MOYES, J.  
    The New Pontificate, vii, 369  
Mres-el-Kebir, x, 148  
Mudania, armistice of, ix, 199-200  
Mukden, battle of, viii, 77-86  
Mummius, L., ii, 41, 44  
    sends works of art to Rome, ii, 42  
Munda, Spain, battle of, ii, 51  
Munich, ix, 355  
Munich, captured, x, 339  
Munich Conference, ix, 355-362  
    effect in Asia of, ix, 363, 364, 365  
Münnich, campaigns, v, 147  
    takes Oczakow, v, 148  
Munster, treaty of, iv, 304  
Murat, vi, 114  
Muravieff, Count, vii, 248  
Muret, battle of, iii, 37-38  
Murphy, Robert D., x, 139  
Murray, Sir G. Evelyn P., ix, 255  
Musa, repulsed by Julian, ii, 227  
    preparations of, ii, 230  
    takes command, ii, 235  
    reduces Merida and Seville, ii, 236  
    impressed with wonders of Lusitania, ii, 236  
    meeting with Tarik, ii, 237  
    treatment of Tarik by, ii, 237  
*Musashi*, x, 263, 265  
Mussolini, Benito, ix, 293, 297, 300, 305, 315-319, 355, 357, 358; x, 78  
    becomes premier, ix, 200  
    mobilizes army, ix, 307  
    resigns premiership, x, 171  
    executed, x, 339  
Mustafa retires from Malta, iv, 145  
Mustafa III., v, 239  
Mysore Wars, v, 335-340
- N
- Nagasaki, struck by atomic bomb, x, 402, 404  
*Nagato*, x, 263  
Naggâst, of Abyssinia, ii, 213  
Nagoya, bombed, x, 356, 376, 386  
Namur, battle of, v, 66  
    captured by Germans, ix, 6  
Nancy—Death of Charles the Bold, iii, 257  
Nancy, taken by René, iii, 259  
    attacked by Burgundy, iii, 263  
Nangis, G. de, quotation from, iü, 153  
Nankin, treaty of, vi, 247  
Nanking (Nankin), Government of in Manchurian dispute, ix, 270, 275, 276, 327  
Nantes, Edict of, iv, 203  
    revocation of, iv, 331-337  
Napata, invasion of, by Cambyses, i, 179  
    kingdom of, i, 178  
Naples, kingdom of, vii, 17  
    claimed by Charles VIII. of France, iü, 307  
    House of, iii, 309  
    fall of, iii, 314  
    conquered by Spain, iii, 349  
    siege of, iv, 72  
    in revolution, vi, 191-194  
    falls to Allies, x, 182  
Napoleon Bonaparte. (*See Bonaparte*)  
Napoleon III. in Italy, vii, 9  
Napoleon III., raises insurrection, vi, 247  
    imprisonment of, vi, 247  
    elected French President, vi, 312  
    becomes Emperor, vi, 317  
    character and policy of, vi, 319  
    promises aid to Piedmont, vii, 9  
    disembarks at Genoa, vii, 11  
    enters Milan, vii, 14  
    obtains Savoy and Nice, vii, 15  
    restores Venetia to Italy, vii, 21  
    on Polish program, vii, 38  
    issues manifesto on Mexico, vii, 47  
    attempts to found Mexican Empire, vii, 47-53  
    in Franco-German War, vii, 117  
    surrender of, vii, 122  
    prisoner of the Prussians, vii, 23, 123  
Narbonne, iii, 38  
Narses, hampers Belisarius, ii, 200  
    conquers Ostrogoths, ii, 201  
    made first Exarch of Ravenna, ii, 202  
Narutowicz, Gabriel, killed, ix, 200  
Narvaez, vii, 84, 95, 98, 103  
Narvik, bombed, x, 33  
Naseby, battle of, iv, 302  
Nashville, battle of, vii, 80  
Nassau, House of, iv, 154

- Natal, Vasco da Gama, names, **iii**, 322  
 Boers settle in, **vi**, 231  
 National Assembly, **v**, 315  
 National Convention, the, **v**, 320  
 National Debt (of England), **v**, 133  
 National Guard (of France), **vi**, 37  
 National Industrial Recovery Act, **ix**, 307  
 National Socialism in Germany. (*See* Nazis)  
 Nations, battle of the, **vi**, 167  
 Nativity of Christ, The, **ii**, 69  
 Naturalization laws, **i**, 119  
 Naval Battles, Pacific (World War II)  
   Coral Sea, **x**, 111  
   Midway, **x**, 113-132  
   Cape Esperance, **x**, 133  
   Santa Cruz Islands, **x**, 133  
   Guadalcanal, **x**, 149  
   Philippine Sea, first, **x**, 249  
   Philippine Sea, second, **x**, 257-300  
 Naval Conference, Five-Power, takes place in  
   London, **ix**, 257-258  
 NAVALIS  
   Dreadnoughts, **viii**, 155  
 Naval oil leases (*See* Teapot Dome)  
 Naval Treaties, **ix**, 307, 308  
   London, **ix**, 258, 308  
   Washington, **ix**, 191, 198, 216  
 Navarino, battle of, **vi**, 207  
 Navas de Tolosa, battle of, **iii**, 22  
 Navel of the earth, **i**, 47  
 Navel of the world, the, **vii**, 379  
 Navigation act, **iv**, 316  
 Navigation laws, **v**, 216  
 Nazi Eyes Turn East, **ix**, 347  
 Nazis Come, The, **x**, 29  
 Nazis, in coalition with Nationalists, **ix**, 279  
   anti-semitic campaign of, **ix**, 280  
   control Bavaria, **ix**, 282  
   arrest Communists, **ix**, 283  
   carry elections in Prussia, **ix**, 283-284  
   censor newspapers, **ix**, 291  
   in 1933 Reichstag election, **ix**, 279  
   policies of, **ix**, 306, 333-343  
   Churchill on, **x**, 79-82  
   after surrender, **x**, 345-360  
 NC-boats, start across ocean, **ix**, 167, 170  
   route of, **ix**, 169  
   reach Halifax, **ix**, 170  
   4 arrives at Azores, **x**, 175  
 NC-boats, misadventures of 1 and 3, **ix**, 175,  
   170  
   4 ends flight, **ix**, 178  
 Near East, **ix**, 299  
 Near East After Lausanne, The, **ix**, 203  
 Necker, Jacques, **v**, 269, 313  
   dismissed, **v**, 294  
   recalled, **v**, 312  
   dismissed, **v**, 318  
 Negro slaves imported to Virginia, **iv**, 259  
 Nehavend, battle of, **ii**, 224  
 Nelson, Horatio, **vi**, 86, 111  
   pursues Villeneuve, **vi**, 106  
   tactics of, **vi**, 59  
   victory of, **vi**, 65, 68  
 NEP. (*See* New Economic Policy)  
 Nepaul conquered, **vi**, 199  
 Neptune, **i**, 45  
 Nero, Claudius, **ii**, 8  
   joins Livius, **ii**, 15  
   march of, Byron's opinion of, **ii**, 21  
 Nero, Emperor of Rome, **ii**, 109  
   charged with setting fire to Rome, **ii**, 109  
   suicide of, **ii**, 118  
 Nerva, **ii**, 111  
   battle of, **v**, 66  
 Nestor, **ii**, 270, 273, 275  
 Netherlands, government, **iv**, 151  
   bishoprics in the, **iv**, 153  
   persecution in the, **iv**, 155, 158  
   revolt of the, **iv**, 159  
   Union of Utrecht, **iv**, 163  
   Dutch Republic recognized, **iv**, 165  
 New Netherland colony formed, **iv**, 250  
 Batavia founded in Java, **iv**, 259  
 Curacao taken, **iv**, 293  
   importance of, **v**, 71  
   snubbed by French at Utrecht, **v**, 111  
   Alliance with England and Germany, **v**, 312  
   conquered by Pichegru, **vi**, 28  
   lose British Guiana, **vi**, 103  
   French expelled, **vi**, 139  
   Crown Princess marries, **ix**, 332  
   invaded by Germany, **x**, 64  
   German surrender, **x**, 347  
 Neutrality Act (United States), signed, **ix**, 343  
   repeal of, **x**, 85  
 Neutrality, Treaty, Russo-Turkish, **ix**, 242  
 Neutrons, **x**, 405, 407, 408

# INDEX

- Nevada*, x, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 229  
*New Amsterdam* settled, iv, 292  
 "New Deal," the, ix, 377  
*New Economic Policy (NEP)*, in Soviet Russia, ix, 223  
*New Englanders*, spirit of the, v, 255  
*Newfoundland*, to have 120,000 square miles in Labrador, ix, 256  
     becomes Crown Colony, ix, 294  
*New Guinea*, vii, 158  
     in World War II, x, 413  
**NEWMAN, AL**  
     Salerno, x, 173  
*New Mexico*, admitted, viii, 310  
*New Netherland*, the, iv, 249  
*New Netherland Company, The United*, iv, 250, 251, 259  
*New Orleans* founded, v, 131  
     captured by Farragut, vii, 30  
*New Pontificate, The*, vii, 369  
*Newport, Captain*, iv, 216, 219, 222  
*New Rome*, ii, 159  
*New South Wales*, colonized, v, 312  
     gold discovered in, vi, 287  
*Newspaper*, first, in the United States, v, 89  
     growth of the, vi, 303  
*New Sweden* settled, iv, 293  
*New Testament*, translation of, by Luther, iv, 33  
*New Tribunal*, the, vi, 17  
*New York subway*, viii, 47  
*New York to Albany*, first steamboat voyage, vi, 101-102  
*New York to Paris flight*, prize for, ix, 244  
     attempts at, before Lindbergh's, ix, 245  
*New Zealand*, v, 222-223, 225; vi, 247; ix, 185, 293; x, 415  
     discovered, iv, 304  
     franchise for women, vii, 168  
*Ney, General*, vi, 135  
**Marshal**, vi, 137  
     at Quatre Bras, vi, 173  
     execution of, vi, 182  
*Nicaragua*, United States breaks relations with, viii, 242  
     revolution in, viii, 254  
     United States intervention in, viii, 320  
     one of the Allied Powers, ix, 113  
     railroads and telegraphs reopened, viii, 374  
     and Honduras at war, viii, 21  
*Nicea*, Crusaders at, ii, 343  
*Nicholas I.*, vi, 339  
*Nicholas of Tusculum*, iii, 45  
*Nicholson's Nek*, vii, 245  
*Nicias*, i, 259, 261  
*Niebuhr*, visits Arabia and Persia, v, 211  
*Niffer*, i, 23  
*Nightingale, Florence*, vi, 336  
*Nika*, the riot, ii, 203  
*Nile*, battle of the, vi, 57  
     source of the, discovered, vii, 15  
*Nile Dam at Assouan, The*, vii, 327  
*Nile to Red Sea railway*, viii, 154  
*Nimitz, Admiral*, x, 125, 260, 320, 414  
*Nimrod*, i, 22, 29  
*Nine-Power Treaty*, and Manchuria, ix, 262, 270, 272, 278, 371  
*Nineveh*, i, 73  
     siege of, i, 75, 76  
     building of, i, 71  
*Nipur*, i, 26  
**NIRA.** (*See National Industrial Recovery Act*)  
*Nisewaner, T. A.*, x, 278  
*Nitetic*, story of, i, 173  
*Nivelle, General*, ix, 19  
*Nizam of Haidarâbâd*, the, v, 339  
*Noah*, i, 13, 21  
*Nobel Prizes*, viii, 216, 291, 321  
*Nobile, Umberto*, in arctic flights, ix, 229-241  
     believes arctic airway possible, ix, 229  
     designer and pilot of *Norge*, ix, 240  
*Nola, Hannibal* defeated at, i, 332  
*Non-Cooperationists*, in India, ix, 200  
*Norfolk, Duke of*, iii, 272  
*Norge*, polar flight of, ix, 227-242  
**Norman Conquest of England**, ii, 305  
*Normandie*, French liner, giant of the seas, x, 205  
*Normandy*, conquered by Henry V., iii, 209  
*Normandy invasion (World War II)*, x, 214  
     planning for, x, 215-219  
     final decisions in, x, 220-224  
     Channel crossing for, x, 227-232  
     airborne landings in, x, 225, 231, 235, 248  
     amphibious landings, x, 232-236, 237-239  
     beachhead on, x, 236, 241-244  
     prisoners and wounded in, x, 244-246, 247-248  
     Allies invade coast of, x, 235-248

- Normans, settle in France, ii, 264
    - spread of the, ii, 265
    - refinement of the, ii, 265
    - aid in defending Constantinople, ii, 266
    - in Southern Italy, ii, 266
    - aid in repelling Saracens, ii, 266
    - gradual disappearance of the, ii, 267
    - protect Ethelred against Danes, ii, 305
    - in First Crusade, ii, 338
  - Normans in France and Italy, The**, ii, 261
  - Vorse blood, in English people, ii, 263
    - in French people, ii, 264
  - North Africa, ii, 225**
  - North African invasion (World War II), x, 133
    - planning for, x, 136-139
    - British offensive in, x, 144-146
    - railway system of, x, 147-148
    - Eisenhower, commander of, x, 171
    - surrender of Axis in, x, 171
    - (See also Morocco and Algiers)
  - Northampton, battle of, iii, 254
  - Northern Confederation, vi, 90
  - North German Federation, vii, 92
  - North, Lord, v, 251, 257, 299, 301
  - North Pole, attempts by Peary to attain, viii, 246, 247, 253
    - Wellman Arctic expedition sails, viii, 201
    - Wellman dirigible attempt fails, viii, 243
    - the Dr. Cook hoax concerning, viii, 253
    - reached by Peary, viii, 244, 245, 247, 252
    - Byrd and Bennett fly over, ix, 228, 234
    - Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile expedition flies over, ix, 237
  - North Sea Battle, ix, 7
  - Northumbria, kingdom of, ii, 194
  - Northwest Passage, discovered, vi, 256
    - conquest of, viii, 49
  - Norway, ceded to Sweden, vi, 139
    - and Sweden, viii, 99
    - invaded by Germany, x, 27, 30-57
    - King and Government flee, x, 36, 40, 44, 45 46
    - heroism of people, x, 40-41, 47, 49
    - British retreat from, x, 60
    - tries Quisling, x, 408
  - Norwegian Parliament, the first, iii, 53
  - Notables, the, meet, v, 302, 314
  - Notre Dame (Paris), ii, 350
  - Novgorod, ii, 265, 270
  - Noville, George O., ix, 247
  - Nungesser and Coli, ix, 245
  - Nuremburg, x, 339
  - Nushirvan, King of Persia, ii, 200
  - Nystadt, peace of, v, 101
    - treaty of, v, 144
- O
- Oahu, x, 89, 91, 96, 122
  - O'Bryant, Theral, x, 246, 247
  - Ochino, Bernardino, iv, 99, 104
  - O'Connor, Rory, surrenders, ix, 199
    - executed, ix, 200
  - Octavia, ii, 53
  - Octavius, Marcus, ii, 51, 62
    - becomes sole ruler of Roman world, ii, 67
  - Oczakow, capture of, v, 150
  - Odenathus, husband of Zenobia, ii, 144
  - Odessa, retaken, x, 214
  - Odin, i, 18
  - Odoacer, ii, 195, 197
  - O'Donnell, vii, 95
  - Official Summary of the Treaty of Peace with Germany**, ix, 113
  - Ofstie, Ralph A., x, 288, 294
  - Ogyges, i, 17
  - Ohio Company charter, v, 174
  - Oil, laws regarding, i, 119
  - Oil lease inquiries, ix, 217
    - (See also Teapot Dome)
  - Oil leases, declared fraudulent, ix, 256
  - Okinawa, invaded, x, 331
    - offensive in, x, 339
    - Naha entered, x, 356
    - won by Americans, x, 386
  - Oklahoma**, x, 101, 102, 103, 107
  - O'LAUGHLIN, J. C.**
    - Peacemaking at Portsmouth, viii, 107
  - Oldendorf, Jesse B., x, 273-278
  - Old Sarum, capture of fort at, ii, 191
  - Oleg, ii, 265, 274-275
    - succeeds Rurik, ii, 274
    - unites Russian tribes, ii, 274
  - Olga, ii, 265
    - widow of Igor, revenge of, ii, 277
    - the Apostle of Christianity, ii, 277
  - Olive wreath, i, 82
  - Olozaga, vii, 100

# INDEX

- Olympia, crown at, i, 81, 82
  - festival at, i, 77, 84
  - racecourse at, i, 79
  - embassies to, i, 79
  - victors at, i, 81
  - olive wreath at, i, 81
  - sacrifices at, i, 83
  - importance of festival, i, 84
- Olympiad, the first, i, 57
- Olympian games, crowds at, i, 80
- Olympian Jove, altar of, i, 78
- Olympic Games, The**, i, 77
- Olympic Games, viii, 187
- Omar, ii, 214, 217, 223
- Omdurman, battle of, vii, 219
- Omen, evil, iii, 263
- Omens, ii, 88
  - and prophecies, ii, 235
  - and Salamis, i, 227
- Ommiades, fall of the, ii, 245
- O'Neill, Hugh, iv, 209
- O'Neill, Shane, iv, 205
- "Open Door" policy, China, ix, 272, 371, 380
- Opening of China, The**, vi, 241
- Opening of Japan, The**, vi, 321
- Opium, vi, 242
- Opium War ended, vi, 247
- Oppas, Archbishop of Toledo and Seville, ii, 228
- Oracle, Brutus interprets, i, 196
- Oracle, Delphi, how obtained, i, 50
  - answers of, i, 50
  - of Buto, i, 182
  - corruption of, i, 189
  - dispute about, i, 251
- Oracles, Themistocles resorts to, i, 223
- Oran, attack of, vi, 224
  - naval attack of, x, 75, 147
  - American landing at, x, 148
- Orange Free State, vi, 356
- Orange, principality of, iv, 154
- Orchomenos, battle of, ii, 50
- Order of St. John of Jerusalem, iii, 96, 98
  - founded, ii, 350
- Order of Templars founded, ii, 350
- Order of the Knights Templars, iii, 95
  - charges against them, iii, 96
  - persecutions of the, iii, 97
  - abolished, iii, 98
- Order of the Temple, iii, 55
- Order of the Teutonic Knights**, iii, 55
- Orenburg-Tashkent Railway, The**, viii, 33
- Orestes, M. Aurelius, ii, 40
- Orion, constellation of, i, 24
- Orleans, siege of, iii, 209
  - attacked by Salisbury, iii, 212
  - last French stronghold, iii, 212
  - fortifications of, iii, 213
  - offers to surrender, iii, 214
  - begs aid of Joan of Arc, iii, 218
  - rejoicing in, iii, 219
- Orleans, Duke of, Regent of France, v, 115
- Ormoc, x, 312
- Ormuz taken by the English, iv, 292
- Ornamentation, early use of, i, 7
- Oropus, i, 305
- Orovio, vii, 103
- ORSI, PIETRO
  - Italian Colonization on the Red Sea, vii, 151
- Orsini, Paolo, iii, 311
- Ortega, General, vii, 48, 50
- Orteig, Raymond, offers aviation prize, ix, 244-245
- Osaka, Japan, bombed, x, 376, 386
- Oscar of Sweden renounces crown, viii, 104
- Oscarborg, Fort, incident of, x, 40-41
- Oslo States, x, 25
- Osman Digna, vii, 148
- Osman Pasha, vii, 134
- Ostrogothic kingdom, fall of the, ii, 201
- Ostrogoths, the, ii, 168, 202
- Otchakoff, pillage and massacre of, v, 309
- Othman fleet, iv, 149
- Othman founds Ottoman Empire, iii, 82
- Otho, revolt of, ii, 118
- Otho (1200), Emperor of Italy, iii, 41
- Otho of Bavaria, King of Greece, vi, 212
- Otto de Colonna, iii, 195
- Otto I., coronation of, ii, 285
  - wars of, ii, 286
  - in Italy, ii, 287
  - marries Adelheid, ii, 287
  - becomes King of Lombardy, ii, 288
  - becomes Emperor, ii, 288
- Otto, King of Greece, expelled, vii, 30
- Otto the Great, ii, 290
- Ottoman Empire, founded, iii, 82
  - attains greatest extent, iv, 141

- Ottomans enter Europe, iii, 154  
 Oudenarde, battle of, v, 89  
 Oudb, vi, 356; vii, 4  
 Oudinot's expedition to Rome, vi, 313  
 Our Lady of Blachernes, ii, 274  
**OWEN, RUSSELL D.**  
   To the North Pole by Air, ix, 227  
**OWI.** (*See* Office of War Information)  
 Oxenstiern, iv, 279  
 Oxford, the Earl of, iii, 270, 272  
 Oxford, Provisions of, iii, 63  
   Provisions of, annulled by Louis IX., iii, 65

## P

- Pacelli, Eugenio, becomes Pope Pius XII., ix, 380  
 Pacific Ocean, discovery of the, iv, 14  
 Pact of Paris, relation of Sino-Japanese conflict to, ix, 259  
 Paderewski, Jan Ignace, first Polish premier, ix, 95  
 Padilla, of Mexico, x, 390  
 Padua, ii, 173  
   siege of, iv, 4  
 Pages, Garnier, vi, 274  
 Palau Islands, x, 254  
 Paleologus. (*See* Constantine Paleologus)  
 Paleologus, Michael, regains Constantinople, iii, 60  
 Palestine, ii, 51; ix, 94, 183  
   conquered by Chosroes, ii, 204  
   invaded by Turks, iii, 60  
   Jewish-Arab riots in, ix, 392  
 Palestro, battle of, vii, 13  
 Palma, T, Estrada, vii, 279  
**PALMER, EDWARD HENRY**  
   The Hegira, ii, 205  
 Palmerston, Lord, vi, 212, 343; vii, 18, 61  
   dismissed, vi, 287  
 Palmyra, besieged by Aurelian, ii, 147  
   siege of, ii, 147  
   renewed rebellion of, ii, 149  
   surrender of, ii, 149  
   sinks into obscurity, ii, 150  
 Palmyreans, defeat of the, ii, 147  
 Palos, Columbus embarks from, iii, 295  
 Panama, Secession of, vii, 377  
**Panama Canal, The**, viii, 323  
 Panama Canal, vii, 149, 379; ix, 18, 271  
   test trip of *Cristobal* through, ix, 5  
 Panama Canal Treaty, vii, 334; viii, 16  
 Panama-Pacific Exposition, ix, 8  
 Pan-American Conference, viii, 207  
   first held, viii, 211  
   at Mexico City, viii, 211  
   at Panama, viii, 212  
   at Rio de Janeiro, viii, 211  
   at Washington, viii, 212-214  
**Pan-American Congress, The**, viii, 209  
 Pan-American Congress, vii, 279  
   (*See also* Pan-American Conference)  
 Pan-American Exhibition, vii, 279  
 Panay, the, sinking of, ix, 344, 378  
 Pandects of Justinian, ii, 202  
 Pandulf, the Pope's legate, has audience with King John, iii, 42  
   John gives the crown of England and Ireland to, iii, 43  
   goes to France, iii, 44  
 Panloff, General, vi, 347  
 Pannonia, subjugated, ii, 67  
   invaded by the Hungarians, ii, 274-275  
 Pantelleria Island, taken by Allies, x, 171  
 Panzer troops, x, 180  
 Papacy, triumph of the, iv, 108  
   founders of the, ii, 164  
   versus Holy Roman Empire, ii, 315  
   seat of the, iii, 90  
 Papal and Spanish invasion of Ireland, iv, 208  
 Papal Conclave, the, vii, 369  
 Papal Legate, govern at Rome, iii, 136  
 Papal Schism, the Great, iii, 90  
 Papen, Franz von, ix, 282, 284, 288, 334, 335  
 Parachute troops, x, 225, 231, 247, 254  
 Paraguay, peace protocol with Bolivia, ix, 307  
 Paramoshiri Island, x, 214  
 Paris, Comte de, vi, 318  
 Paris, the city of, ii, 198  
   besieged, ii, 264  
   University of, founded, iii, 21  
 Peace of, iii, 39; v, 198; vi, 171  
 insurrection in, iii, 160  
 in revolt, iv, 194  
 famine in, iv, 199  
 revolt of, iv, 310  
 agitation in (1797), vi, 31, 34  
 fall of, vi, 171

# INDEX

- Paris, Treaty of, vi, 175, 356  
 February Revolution in, vi, 277  
 improvements in, vi, 318  
 Congress of, vi, 343  
 siege of, vii, 123  
 Germans enter, vii, 128  
 Commune in, vii, 129  
 Exposition, vii, 265  
 falls to Germans, x, 64  
 a deserted city, x, 65-67  
 liberated by Allies, x, 249  
 Victory-Day in, x, 251-254
- Paris-New York flight, Nungesser and Coli attempt, ix, 245
- PARKER, SIR GILBERT  
 The Coronation of King Edward VII., vii, 313
- Parliament (English), at Westminster (1258), iii, 61  
 at Oxford, iii, 62  
 of Simon de Montfort, iii, 70  
 passes resolutions against Slave Trade, v, 269
- Parliament (England), first German, vi, 286
- Parliamentarians, resources of the, iv, 295
- Parma, Duke of (Alexander Farnese), prepares to invade England, iv, 176
- Parmenio, i, 324, 328
- Parnassus, Mount, i, 17, 43
- Parsi, religion, early study of, i, 35  
 religion and monotheism, i, 41
- Parsis, emigration of, i, 33  
 defeat of, i, 33
- Parthians, the, ii, 53
- Partition of Poland, v, 237
- Pasargada, i, 137, 138
- Pashitch, ix, 208
- Passarowitz, Peace of, v, 132; vi, 50
- Passing of Lenin, ix, 219
- Pasteur, vii, 158
- Patarini, driven from Milan, the, ii, 321
- Pater Patriæ, iii, 177
- Paths, the, i, 107
- Patrician, the title, ii, 251
- Patricians, the, i, 90; ii, 46  
 and Plebeians, i, 232
- Patricius Romanorum, ii, 250-251
- Patroons, the, iv, 254
- Patton, Gen. George, x, 330
- Paul III., iv, 103
- Paul IV., publishes the Index, iv, 104  
 abolishes nepotism, iv, 106
- Paul of Russia strangled, vi, 86
- Paul, Saint, apparition of, ii, 177
- Paullus, ii, 35
- Pausanias, first victor at Delphi, i, 47
- Pavia, battle of, iv, 62  
 pillage of, iv, 70
- Pazzi, conspiracy of the, iii, 268
- Peace Conference, The, vii, 247
- Peace Conference, Central American, viii, 230  
 Shanghai, viii, 291 (*See also* Conference)
- Peace Making at Portsmouth, viii, 107
- Peace of Paris, iii, 39; v, 198; vi, 171
- Peace of Utrecht, The, v, 103
- Peace Treaty, (*See* Treaty)
- Pearl Harbor, x, 87
- Pearl Harbor, x, 85, 137, 203, 336  
 treachery of Japanese attack on, x, 87  
 location of U. S. Fleet at, x, 87-89  
 Japanese submarine destroyed, x, 89-90  
 failure of warning system, x, 91-92  
 Japanese strategy, x, 92-95  
 Japanese objectives, x, 97-98, 105-107  
 ships destroyed or damaged at, x, 97-106  
 sabotage feared, x, 94  
 planes destroyed at, x, 95  
 casualties at, x, 108  
 Japanese losses at, x, 106-107  
 investigation of, x, 128, 149
- PEARSON, CHARLES H.  
 Rise of Feudalism, ii, 327
- Peary, Robert Edwin, reaches farthest north, viii, 216  
 discovers North Pole, viii, 244-254; ix, 229
- Peary's Discovery of the North Pole, viii, 245
- Peck, George, x, 283
- Pedro, Dom, vi, 189, 217
- Pedro, Don, of Spain, iii, 77
- Pedro, the Cruel, iii, 170
- Peel, Sir Robert, vi, 235, 236
- Pegoud, Adolphe, makes first airplane loop-the-loop, ix, 249, 250
- Peisistratae, expulsion of the, i, 183-193
- Peisistratus, i, 182  
 fall of, i, 183
- Pekin, fall of, iii, 28
- Kublai builds, iii, 7

- Peking, vü, 267, 270, 279; ix, 225  
 Pelée, Mont, eruption of, vü, 279  
 Peleliu Island, x, 254  
 Péliissier, General, vi, 230, 340  
 Peloponnesian army returns to Athens, i, 245  
 Peloponnesian War, i, 243  
 Peloponnesus, invasion of, by Thebans, i, 296  
 Pelusium, battle of, i, 175  
 Pembroke, the Earl of, iii, 272  
 Penicillin, x, 193  
 Penicillin, diseases helped by, x, 193-194  
   discovery and development of, x, 194-195  
   high potency of, ix, 196  
   use of, x, 196-201  
   supply of, x, 201  
 Peninsular War, the, vi, 116  
 Penn, William, takes Jamaica, iv, 316  
   found Pennsylvania, iv, 320  
 Pennefather, General, vi, 347  
*Pennsylvania*, x, 88, 102, 106, 274  
 Pennsylvania founded, iv, 320  
 Penny post, vi, 247  
 Pensacola founded, v, 131  
 People, Solon's classification of the, i, 114  
   Assembly of the, ii, 46  
 Pepé, General, vi, 192, 194  
 Pepin the Short, ii, 168  
   delivers Rome, ü, 246, 250  
   becomes King of the Franks, ii, 250  
 Pepperel, Sir William, v, 173  
 Pepys, Samuel, v, 8  
 Percival, Arthur E., x, 415  
 Percy, Thomas, iv, 235  
 Pergamus, realm of, ii, 44  
 Pericles, rule of, i, 243  
 Perinthus, attack of, i, 299  
 Permanent World Court, ix, 103, 183, 242,  
   256  
 Perpetua, story of, ii, 115  
 Perpetual Edict, the, iv, 162  
 Perry, Captain Oliver H., vi, 156  
 Perry, Commodore Matthew C., opens trade  
   with Japan, vi, 323  
 Persecution, denied by Abul Fazl, iv, 115  
 Persecutions of the Christians, ii, 109  
 Pershing, General John J., pursues Mexican  
   brigands, ix, 10  
   reaches France, ix, 19  
   commands A. E. F., ix, 19  
 Persia (Iran), empire, extent of, i, 177  
   attacks Greece, i, 209  
   expedition against Eretria and Athens, i, 211  
   aids Athens, i, 299  
   army, disposition of, at Arbela, i, 322  
   concludes peace with Eastern Empire, ii, 204  
   invasion of, ii, 218  
   standard, the, ii, 220  
   spoil, wealth of, ii, 222  
   carpet, the wonderful, ii, 223  
   conquered by Seljuks, ii, 334  
   resumes relations with China, ix, 294  
   becomes Iran, ix, 295  
 Persians, defeat of, at Salamis, i, 230  
   conquer Armenia, ii, 142  
   conquer the Emperor Valerian, ii, 142  
 Peru, iv, 16; ix, 113, 292  
   wealth of, iv, 17  
   and Chile, ix, 198, 199  
   in plebiscite controversy, ix, 225  
 Pescara, the Marquis, iv, 61, 64  
 Pétain, General, succeeds Nivelle, ix, 19  
   trial of, x, 401, 408  
 Peter, Saint, ii, 163  
 Peter III. (Russia), v, 198, 211  
 Peterborough, Earl of, v, 89  
 Peter des Roches, iii, 45  
 Peterloo massacre, vi, 199  
 Peter of Servia, crowned, viii, 47  
 Peter the Great, v, 65, 94  
   army of, v, 98  
   conquests of, v, 102  
   death of, v, 144  
 Peter the Hermit, ii, 335, 340  
 Petition of Right, the, iv, 319  
 Pevensey, fall of, ii, 189  
   William anchors off, ii, 308  
 Phanès, enters Persian service, i, 174  
   murder of his children, i, 175  
 Pharnabazus, i, 274  
 Pharnaces defeated by Caesar, ii, 51  
 Pharnariot colony, ix, 211  
 Pharsalus, battle of, ii, 51  
 Phenicia, ii, 51  
 Phenician cities, rise of, i, 51  
 Phenician colonies, i, 51  
 Phenicians, i, 24  
 Philadelphia, v, 260  
 Philip Augustus, iii, 3



# INDEX

- Philip of Macedon, i, 297  
 conflict of, with Athens, i, 299  
 appointed Strategus, i, 304  
 superior generalship of, i, 306  
 death of, i, 310
- Philip II. of Spain, iv, 117, 154, 162  
 sends aid to Malta, iv, 144  
 prepares to invade England, iv, 171  
 conquers Portugal, iv, 187
- Philip V. of Spain, v, 113, 114
- Philip VI (France), seeks revenge on English,  
 iii, 123  
 confidence of, iii, 124-125  
 at Crecy, iii, 128
- Philippi, battle of, ii, 51
- Philippines, discovered, iv, 44  
 Tariff Bill for, viii, 146  
 demand independence, viii, 243; ix, 344  
 accept Independence Act, ix, 294  
 Quezon President of, ix, 307  
 Manila falls to Japanese, x, 110  
 Bataan and Corregidor fall, x, 110  
 Leyte invasion, x, 255  
 Aparri captured, x, 386  
 Japanese delegation at Manila, x, 412
- Phillippeaux, Colonel, vi, 73, 76
- PHILLIPS, W. ALISON  
 The Revolution of 1848, vi, 277  
 War of Greek Independence, vi, 201
- Phocians, the, i, 301
- Phocion, i, 300
- Phoenix Park murders, vii, 149
- Photography, vii, 195
- Photography, improvements in, vii, 195  
 color, vii, 199
- Phtah, Cambyzes enters temple of, i, 180
- Phya, i, 184
- Piagnoni, the, iii, 311, 330
- Pichegru, conquers Holland, vi, 28  
 death of, vi, 88
- Pickett, vii, 75
- Picts, the, ii, 180
- Piedmont, vii, 9  
 attacks Austria, vi, 282-283  
 revolt of, vi, 195
- Pierre, Jaques, vi, 47
- Pümelun, i, 55
- Pilgrim Fathers, in Holland, iv, 283  
 embark, iv, 283
- Pilgrim Fathers, voyage of the, iv, 287  
 landing of the, iv, 289
- Pilsudski, Josef, ix, 54, 65  
 in World War I, ix, 62, 63  
 receives control from regency, ix, 66  
 dies, ix, 307
- Pindar, quotation from, i, 81
- Pisa, Council of, iii, 189; iv, 7
- Pisani, Nicolo, iii, 155
- Pisaurum, earthquake destroys, ii, 58
- Pisistrata (Peisistrata), conspiracy against the,  
 i, 187
- Pisistratida, the, i, 214
- Piso, L. Calpurnius, ii, 29
- Pitigliano, iv, 2
- Pitt, William, v, 201, 203, 206; vi, 233  
 resolves to destroy French rule in America,  
 v, 207  
 (See also, Chatham, Earl of)
- Pittsburgh, named for William Pitt, v, 207
- Pius IV., convenes third Council of Trent, iv,  
 106
- Pius IX., vii, 364
- Pius X., vii, 368
- Pius XI., succeeds Benedict XV., ix, 198  
 leaves Vatican, ix, 257  
 dies, ix, 380
- Pius XII., succeeds to papacy, ix, 380
- Pizarro, Francisco, iv, 16
- Placentia, resistance of, ii, 10
- Plague, the, iii, 139; iv, 60. (See Black Death)  
 at Athens, i, 245  
 nature of the, i, 246  
 origin of the, i, 246  
 characteristics of the, i, 246  
 at Jaffa, vi, 73
- Plague at Athens, The, i, 245
- Plagues, two great, i, 72
- Plassey, battle of, v, 202
- Plastic Surgery. (See Military Surgery)
- Plastiras, Nicholas, Greek general, ix, 307
- Platea, battle of, i, 232
- PLATO  
 Death of Socrates, i, 275
- Plebeians, grievances of, i, 235  
 citadel of, i, 236-237  
 new powers for, ii, 46
- Plebeians and Patricians, i, 232
- Plebiscite, for Tacna-Arica, ix, 225

- Plebiscite, for Saar, ix, 125, 295  
     in Germany, ix, 308  
 Poland-East Prussia, to fix frontier, ix, 126  
 Plevna, surrender of, vii, 134  
 Plimsoll, vii, 130  
 Pliny the Elder, writes for posterity, ii, 131  
     curious regarding Vesuvius, ii, 133  
     seeks to aid the distressed, ii, 133  
     resolves to rescue a friend, ii, 134  
     calmness of, ii, 134  
     overcome by noxious vapors, ii, 136  
     body of, found, ii, 136  
**PLINY THE YOUNGER**  
     Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, ii, 131  
 Pliny the Younger, opinions regarding Christians, ii, 111  
     tribute to the elder Pliny, ii, 132  
     in eruption of Vesuvius, ii, 139  
 Ploesti, x, 254  
 Plough, invention of, i, 10  
**PLUTARCH**  
     The Battle of Salamis, i, 221  
     The Founding of Rome, i, 87  
     Laws of Lycurgus, i, 59  
     Laws of Solon, i, 111  
     Battle of Actium, ii, 53  
 Pocahontas, iv, 218-219  
 Point Barrow, *Norge's* crew sight, ix, 239  
 Poitiers, battle of, iii, 160  
 Poland, Agricultural Society of, vii, 32  
     invasion of, v, 67  
     civil war in, v, 220  
     partition of, v, 241, 340  
     Diet of, v, 243  
     re-established, vi, 120  
     extinction of, vii, 39  
     rebirth of, ix, 51-56  
     early history of, ix, 51-53  
     university at Cracow, ix, 52  
     Diet established, ix, 53  
     great patriots of, ix, 54  
     demands of minorities, ix, 55  
     claims of, ix, 56, 64  
     industrial conditions in, ix, 51-58  
     reconstruction problems, ix, 58-61  
     in World War I, ix, 62, 64  
     recognized by United States, ix, 96  
     President Narutowicz killed, ix, 200  
     to have Vilna, ix, 201  
 Poland, Chamberlain's report on, x, 1-10  
     non-aggression pact with Germany, x, 12  
     claims from Czechs, x, 14-16  
     Russian war, 1921, x, 14  
     pact with Russia, x, 15  
     army at Ukranian border, x, 16  
     invaded by Germany and Russia, x, 23  
     at San Francisco, x, 389, 391, 394  
**Poland Reborn**, ix, 51  
 Polar expeditions, vii, 266, 280; ix, 227  
 Polians, the, ii, 273  
**Polish Insurrection, The**, vii, 31  
 Politiques, the, iv, 187  
 Polo, Marco, the Elder, iii, 84  
 Polo, Marco, the Younger, claims of, to nobility, iii, 83  
     employed by Kublai Khan, iii, 86  
     merits of his book, iii, 87-88  
 Polo, Nicolo, iii, 84  
 Polonium, vii, 357  
 Polos, the return of the, to Venice, iii, 85  
     second journey of the, iii, 86  
 Polybius, ii, 31, 37, 43  
 Polycarp, martyrdom of, ii, 113  
 Pomerania, invasion of, by Danes, v, 102  
 Pompeii, excavations begun at, v, 175  
 Pompeius, Cneus (Pompey), ii, 51  
     murdered, ii, 51  
 Poniatowski, Josef, death of, vi, 169  
     great Polish patriot, ix, 54  
 Pontos, kingdom of, ii, 50  
 Pontus, massacres in, ii, 115  
 Pope, relation of, to Emperor, ii, 321  
     relation of, to Rome, ii, 248  
     policy of the, ii, 253  
 Popes, achieve temporal power, ii, 168  
     three rival, iii, 189  
     loss of temporal power, vi, 55; vii, 23  
 Poplicola, ii, 62, 63  
 Porcaro, Stephen, iii, 136  
 Porcius, ii, 11, 14, 18  
 Porsenna, Lars, i, 203  
 Port Arthur, captured, vii, 168  
     attack on, viii, 16  
     defeat of Russian fleet at, viii, 31; x, 87  
     Japanese enter, viii, 63  
     siege of, viii, 65  
     Japanese lease of, ix, 8  
 Porteous riots, v, 145

# INDEX

- Portland, viii, 140  
 Port Mahon, ii, 4; v, 199  
 Portobello, captured, v, 164  
 Port Royal taken by English, v, 102  
 Portsmouth, Treaty of, viii, 107  
 Portugal, conquered by Philip II., iv, 187  
     becomes independent, iv, 316  
     revolution in, vi, 188  
     assassination of King of, viii, 230  
     republic proclaimed, viii, 263  
     Arriaga president, viii, 290  
 Portuguese, settle Brazil, iv, 109  
     negotiate a treaty with Japan, iv, 109  
**Portuguese Revolution, The**, viii, 265  
 Posen, ix, 56, 58, 120, 126  
**POST, AUGUSTUS**  
     Columbus of the Air, ix, 243  
 Potemkin, v, 302-303  
     takes Otchakoff, v, 309  
     besieges Ismail, v, 310  
     triumphal journey of, v, 311  
 Pothinus, ii, 58  
 Potomac, Army of the, vii, 65  
 Potsdam, Reichstag meeting at, ix, 284, 285  
 Potsdam Conference, x, 401, 402, 409  
 Potsdam Declaration, x, 402, 410, 411  
 Pottery, invention of, i, 9  
 Poundage, iv, 293  
 Powhatan, iv, 218  
 Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, iii, 226; v, 132, 165  
 Prague, battle of, iii, 198  
     besieged, ii, 282  
 Pramzinas, i, 18  
 Prato, capture of, iv, 10  
**PRATT, FLETCHER**  
     The Knockout at Midway, x, 113  
**Prehistoric World and Primitive Man, The**, i, 1  
**PRESCOTT, WILLIAM H.**  
     The Conquest of Granada, iii, 275  
 Press, progress of the, v, 213  
 Pressburg, Diet of, vi, 278  
     Treaty of, vi, 114  
 Prester, John, iii, 322  
     skull of, iii, 24  
 Preston Pans, battle of, v, 169  
 Pretoria, surrender of, vii, 265  
 Pretorian Guard, proclaims Claudius emperor, ii, 89  
     disbanded, ii, 156  
**PRICE, FRANK W.**  
     The "Rising Sun" Sets, x, 409  
 Prim, General, vii, 96, 100, 104  
 Prima, i, 91  
 Primrose League, vii, 149  
 Prince of Wales, motto of, iii, 129  
*Princeton*, x, 267-270  
 Printed book, earliest, iii, 251  
 Printers, early, iii, 253  
 Printing by steam, vi, 304  
 Printing, spread of, iii, 247, 248, 252  
 Prinzip, Gavriilo, ix, 7, 93  
 Prioux, René Jacques Adolphe, x, 61  
 Prittwitz, Baron von, ix, 289  
**PROBYN, JOHN WEBB**  
     Napoleon III. in Italy, vii, 9  
 Procopius, i, 35; iii, 197  
 Prodiges, ii, 58, 76, 107  
 Production. (*See* War Production)  
 Progressive Party, viii, 320  
 Prohibition Amendment, repeal of, ix, 292, 294  
 Prometheus, i, 17  
 Propaganda, Communist, x, 14  
     German, x, 31, 56, 365, 366  
     Nazi, in Germany, x, 363, 366  
     Allied, in Germany, x, 364, 365  
     Japanese, x, 374, 376, 377, 381  
**Prosecution of John Wilkes and Passing of the Stamp Act**, v, 213  
 Protection, vi, 234  
 Protestantism, triumph of, iv, 138  
 Protestants, famous, iv, 27  
     persecuted in England, iv, 109  
 Protocol, World Court, U. S. reservations to, ix, 242, 256  
 Prussia, vi, 114, 285  
     gains Stettin, v, 132  
 Prussia, Crown Prince of, vii, 120, 123  
 Psammeticus, i, 176, 177  
 PT boats, x, 271-272  
 Pteria, combat at, i, 154  
 Ptolemy, son of Cleopatra, ii, 55  
 Publius Valerius, i, 197, 200  
 Puebla, siege of, vii, 48  
 Puleston, Captain, x, 87  
 Pultowa, siege of, v, 99

Punic Wars, i, 331, 332; ii, 22  
 Punjab annexed, vi, 258  
 Pu-Yi, ruler of Manchukuo, ix, 259, 264, 276, 294  
 PYLE, ERNIE  
     V-Day in Paris, x, 251  
 Pym, death of, iv, 300  
 Pyramids, battle of the, vi, 55  
 Pyrrha, i, 17  
 Pyrrhus, i, 296  
 Pythia, i, 44  
 Pytho, the, i, 44  
 Pythoness, the, i, 44, 49  
     message to Cræsus, i, 157

## Q

Qatarra Depression, x, 143, 145  
 Quadrant invented, v, 145  
 Quatre Bras, Marshal Ney at, vi, 173  
 Quebec, battle of, v, 208  
     St. Lawrence bridge falls, viii, 229  
 Queensland, vii, 7  
 Quezon, Manuel Luis, first Philippine president, ix, 307  
     urges independence, ix, 344  
 Quiberon, battle of, v, 206  
 Quinctius, Keso, i, 236  
 Quincy, x, 229  
 Quisling, Vidkun, x, 39, 110, 408  
     condemned to death, x, 415  
 Qurâis, the, ii, 205, 209, 210  
 Qur'ân, the, ii, 215

## R

Rabat, x, 147  
 RADEK, KARL  
     The Italian Adventure: Imperialists on Parade, ix, 297  
 Radek, Karl, ix, 343  
 Radetzky, Marshal, vi, 282  
 Radio, in World War II, x, 118, 120, 173, 174, 341, 342, 345, 346, 365, 367, 375-380  
 Radio-activity, viii, 2, 5  
 Radio detection, x, 91, 92  
 Radio telephone, New York-London, ix, 255  
 Radium and Its Lessons, viii, 1  
 RAF. (*See* Royal Air Force)

Raglan, Lord, vi, 329, 330, 351, 353  
     death of, vi, 340  
 Ragusa, Republic of, ix, 78  
 Rakosy, defeat of, v, 102, 132  
 Raleigh, x, 106  
 RALEIGH, SIR WALTER  
     The Fall of Babylon, i, 163  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, quotation from, ii, 19  
     imprisoned in Tower, iv, 261  
     History of the World, iv, 262  
     execution of, iv, 268  
 Rama VI. of Siam, dies, ix, 226  
 RAMBAUD, ALFRED  
     The Beginnings of Russia, ii, 269  
     The Polish Insurrection, vii, 31  
 Ramesses II., i, 19  
 Ramillies, battle of, v, 89  
 Ramsey, Sir Bertram, x, 221, 223, 224, 226  
 Randolph, Peyton, v, 260  
 Rangers, x, 231, 234  
 Rangoon, Burma, x, 110  
 RANKE, LEOPOLD VON  
     End of the Peloponnesian War: Battle of Chereonea, i, 299  
     Expedition of the Ten Thousand, i, 269  
 RAPPOPORT, A. S.  
     The First Russian Parliament, viii, 195  
 Ras Alula, vii, 152  
 Ras Mangascia, vii, 154  
 Rastadt, Peace of, v, 115  
 Rathenau, Walter, assassinated, ix, 199  
 Ratisbon, Diet of, iv, 100  
 Ravenna, ii, 165, 199  
     Exarch of, ii, 202, 248  
     battle of, iv, 8  
 RAWLINSON, GEORGE  
     Cyrus Finds Persia, i, 133  
     The Founding of Chaldea, i, 21  
 Raymond, Count of Toulouse, ii, 338, 342, 345; iii, 35, 37  
 Raymond de Cordona, commands Spanish army, iv, 7, 10  
 Raymond VI., death of, iii, 38  
 Raymond Roger, bravery of, iii, 36  
 Rays, Cathodic, viii, 1  
     Lenard, viii, 1  
     Röntgen, viii, 1  
 Read, Lt. Com., with *NC-4*, ix, 168, 174, 178  
 Rearmament, in the U. S., ix, 380

# INDEX

- Red Cross, vi, 337  
 Red Rocks, battle of the, ii, 155  
 Redan, assault of the, vi, 341  
 Reform Bill passed, vi, 231  
**Reformation, The**, iv, 27  
 Reformation, iv, 28  
     affects Hanseatic League, iii, 120  
     in Denmark, iv, 88  
     in Italy, iv, 99  
     in Scotland, triumph of, iv, 138  
**Reformation in Scotland, The**, iv, 125  
 Refugees, from Norway, x, 37-57  
     from Paris, x, 67-74  
 Regillus Lake, battle of, i, 206  
 Regnier, General, vi, 72, 80  
 Reichsrat, abolished, ix, 294  
 Reichstadt, Duc de, vi, 118  
 Reichstag, ix, 5, 41, 48  
     elections to, ix, 279  
     exclusion of Communists from, ix, 283, 284  
     confers dictatorship on Hitler, ix, 286, 289  
**REID, WEMYSS**  
     Assassination of President McKinley, vii, 281  
**Reign of Akbar, The**, iv, 111  
**Reign of Terror, The**, vi, 15  
 Religion, development of, i, 19, 34, 35  
 Remus, i, 87  
     death of, i, 88  
 Renaissance, Savonarola and the, iii, 327  
 Renaudot founds *Gazette de France*, iv, 292  
 René of Anjou, takes Nancy, iii, 259  
     solicits aid from the Swiss, iii, 260  
     before body of Duke of Burgundy, iii, 267  
 Rentenmark, ix, 290  
**RENWICK, JAMES**  
     The Invention of the Steamboat, vi, 91  
 Reparations, conference on, ix, 260  
 Report from Tarawa, x, 183  
 Repton, ii, 193  
 Republic of St. Mark, vi, 283  
 Requesens, Don Luis de, iv, 147, 160  
 Retz, Cardinal de, iv, 315  
**Revival of the Imperial Dignity**, ii, 285  
**Revocation of the Edict of Nantes**, iv, 331  
 Revolt in Spain, ix, 311  
**Revolution in China**, viii, 293  
**Revolution of 1848, The**, vi, 277  
**Revolutions in Rome**, iii, 131  
 Reynaud, x, 73  
 Reynolds, John Fulton, vii, 66  
**REYNOLDS, QUENTIN**  
     The Army of Despair, x, 65  
**REYNOLDS, QUENTIN, et al**  
     America's Greatest Naval Battle, x, 257  
 Rheims, Charles VII. at, iii, 225  
 Rheims, World War II surrender at, x, 342, 343, 352  
 Rhine, Confederation of the, vi, 114, 119  
 Rhineland, reoccupied by German troops, ix, 308  
 Rhode Island, colonized, iv, 293  
 Rhodes, iii, 94; iv, 87  
 Rhodes, Cecil, ix, 297  
**RHYS-DAVIDS, T. W.**  
     Gautama Buddha, i, 99  
 Ribbentrop, Joachim von, ix, 359; x, 4, 5, 6, 22  
 Ribot, Premier of France, ix, 21  
 Rice, Howard, x, 184, 185  
 Richard III., crimes of, iii, 269  
     at Bosworth, iii, 272  
     treachery of his supporters, iii, 271  
     death of, iii, 274  
 Richard Cœur de Lion, iii, 1  
     and Philip Augustus, iii, 5  
     and Tancred, iii, 5  
     in Palestine campaigns, iii, 6, 7  
     leaves Palestine, iii, 8  
     capture of, iii, 8  
 Richard of Capua, ii, 320  
 Richardson, Sir Benjamin, vii, 186  
 Richelieu, iv, 274, 279; vi, 182, 184  
     in Austrian affairs, iv, 273  
     death of, iv, 293  
 Richmond (Henry VII.), Earl of, invasion of England by, iii, 270  
 Richmond, capture of, vii, 80  
 Richthofen, aviator, killed, ix, 93  
 Riego, rebellion of, vi, 187  
 Riel's insurrection, vii, 158  
 Rienzi, Nicola di, iii, 134  
     assassination of, iii, 135  
 Riera, Emmet, x, 270, 271  
**RIESS, CURT**  
     We Must Win Another Battle in Germany, x, 357  
 Rights, Declaration of, v, 27  
 Riiser-Larsen, Hjalmar, ix, 236

- Rise and Fall of the Mexican Empire, vii, 47  
 Rise of Feudalism, ii, 327  
 Rise of Mahdism, The, vii, 145  
 Rise of Methodism and the New Philanthropy, The, v, 155  
 Rise of the Dutch Republic, iv, 151  
 Rise of the Young Turks, The, viii, 233  
 "Rising Sun" Sets, The, x, 409  
 Roberts, Lord, vii, 130, 144, 245, 265  
 Roberts, Report on Pearl Harbor, x, 91, 92, 97  
 Robespierre, v, 316  
 Robot bombs, x, 249, 328  
 Rochefoucauld, iv, 310, 312  
 Rochester conflagration, viii, 16  
 Rockefeller, John D., death of, ix, 344  
 Rockets, x, 235, 312  
 Rockingham Ministry, the, v, 219  
 Roderic the Goth, ii, 228  
     at Xeres, ii, 231, 232  
 Rodney, v, 294, 302  
 Rodolph, Emperor, iii, 91  
 Roger, Count of Sicily, ii, 267  
 Rojestvensky, Admiral, viii, 41, 91, 111  
 Rolf Ganger, (*See* Rollo)  
 Rollin, Ledru, vi, 274  
 Rollo attacks Normandy, ii, 263-264  
 Roman, triumph, origin of, i, 93  
     royalty, mythical period of, i, 193  
     laws, i, 235  
     Forum, i, 283, 291, 292  
     wars, i, 296  
     fortitude, ii, 6  
     army, ii, 10, 119  
     Senate, ii, 22, 30, 40, 46, 49  
     triumphs, ii, 44  
     government, ii, 46  
     Empire, division of, ii, 52  
     army in Germany, ii, 81  
     cavalry, flight of, ii, 85  
     army, defeat of, ii, 86  
     legions withdrawn from Britain, ii, 180  
     consulship abolished, ii, 203  
     and Teuton, union of, ii, 259  
     nobles, feuds of, iii, 133  
     Republic, vi, 55  
 Roman Empire, division of, under Diocletian, ii, 152  
     six emperors of, at once, ii, 154  
     division of, ii, 168  
 Roman Empire of the West extinguished, ii, 195  
     Eastern, ii, 195, 225  
 Romans, rout of the, by the Gauls, i, 287  
     massacre of the, i, 292  
     learn Hasdrubal's plans, ii, 13  
     victory of the, ii, 20  
     driven out of Germany, ii, 87  
     grow dispirited at Jerusalem, ii, 125  
     three kings of the, in Germany, iii, 191  
 Romanzoff, General, v, 240  
 Rome, founding of, i, 57, 88  
     Plebeians and Patricians in, i, 232  
     Gauls invade, i, 293  
     takes measures for defence, i, 289  
     sack of, i, 293; iv, 68  
     geese save the citadel, i, 295  
     war of, with Tarentum, i, 296  
     gains Cisalpine Gaul, i, 332  
     gains Sardinia, Corsica, and Illyria, i, 332  
     peril of, ii, 10  
     acts as arbitrator, ii, 22  
     wars on Achaeans, ii, 40  
     and her allies, ii, 45  
     social war in, ii, 48  
     first civil war of, ii, 49  
     regains power in Asia, ii, 51  
     division of Empire of, ii, 152  
     terror in, ii, 87  
     great fires of, ii, 108  
     sacked by Vandals, ii, 194  
     taken by the Goths, ii, 200  
     attacked by the Lombards, ii, 245-246  
     invaded by the Saracens, ii, 259  
     in Middle Ages, iii, 131  
     during the Great Schism, iii, 133  
     law and order restored in, iii, 134  
     bannerets in, iii, 135  
     seven chief magistrates of, iii, 136  
     Inquisition established in, iv, 104  
     republic proclaimed, vi, 55  
     King of, vi, 118  
     capital of Italy, vii, 22, 129  
     insurrection in, vii, 23  
     surrender of, x, 214  
 Rome-Berlin Axis, ix, 349  
 Rommel, Field Marshal Erwin, x, 132, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146  
     driven from Egypt, x, 136

# INDEX

- Romulus, classifies inhabitants, i, 90  
 builds his city, i, 90
- Romulus and Remus leave Alba, i, 87  
 dispute of, i, 88
- Röntgen, Professor, vii, 179
- Roon, Count von, vii, 118
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, elected President, ix, 278  
 first acts after inauguration of, ix, 292  
 appeals to factions in Cuba, ix, 293  
 re-elected, second term, ix, 328  
 seeks to enlarge Supreme Court, ix, 343  
 speaks in Canada, ix, 345  
 re-elected, third term, x, 75  
 asks Congress to declare war, x, 110  
 plans for African invasion, x, 137  
 signs pay-as-you-go tax bill, x, 171  
 re-elected, fourth term, x, 312  
 dies, x, 331, 335  
 funeral of, x, 333-335  
 era of, x, 336-337
- Roosevelt, Theodore, becomes President after death of McKinley, vii, 279  
 speaks in Chicago, vii, 335  
 receives Minister of Panama, vii, 376  
 elected President, viii, 30  
 inauguration of, viii, 76  
 influence of, at Russo-Japanese conference of Portsmouth, viii, 111, 112  
 death of, ix, 95  
 on Turkey, ix, 204
- Root, Elihu, viii, 215
- ROSCOE, WILLIAM  
 Cosmo de' Medici, iii, 171
- Rosen, Baron, viii, 113
- Rosetta Stone, vi, 69
- Ross, Sir James, vi, 250
- Roszbach, battle of, v, 195, 204
- Rostock, x, 349
- Rostopchin, Count, vi, 130
- Rothschild, Nathan, vi, 120
- Roumania. (*See* Rumania)
- Roumelia, East, vii, 142  
 joins Bulgaria, vii, 158
- Roussine, Captain, viii, 108
- Royal Air Force (RAF), x, 8, 62, 64, 77, 83, 232
- Royal Wards, ii, 331
- Rubicon, Cæsar crosses the, ii, 51
- Rubruquis, William de, iii, 84, 88
- Rudini, Marquis di, vii, 153, 157
- Ruhr, occupied by French and Belgians, ix, 200
- Rumania (Roumania), vii, 142; ix, 3, 4  
 Kingdom of, vi, 344; vii, 141  
 signs peace treaty, ix, 93  
 Danube Commission, ix, 158  
 treaty with Turkey, ix, 215  
 regency governs in, ix, 256  
 invades Carpatho-Ukraine, ix, 380  
 treaty with Poland, x, 13, 16, 26  
 cedes territory to Russia, x, 74  
 Michael, King of, x, 75  
 joins Axis, x, 75  
 Britain at war with, x, 85  
 signs armistice, x, 254
- Rundstedt, Karl von, x, 353
- Runnymede, iii, 47
- Rurik, ii, 265, 273
- Russell, Admiral, v, 55, 62
- RUSSELL, W. H.  
 Laying of the Atlantic Cable, vii, 85
- Russia, beginning of, ii, 265, 272  
 first Mongol invasion of, iii, 60  
 triumph of, over Sweden, v, 93  
 computation of time by Christian Era introduced, v, 66  
 Peter proclaims himself head of Russian Church, v, 67  
 invaded by Charles X., v, 89  
 Holy Synod in, v, 143  
 treaty of Nystad, v, 144  
 alliance with Austria, v, 144  
 relations with Turkey, v, 145, 154, 220, 235, 269, 302; vi, 320  
 murder of Peter III, v, 211  
 occupies Warsaw, v, 243  
 conquest of the Crimea, v, 303-312  
 peace with Sweden, v, 334  
 army of, in 1812, vi, 123  
 Czar Paul assassinated, vi, 90  
 Napoleon invades, vi, 120  
 Moscow campaign, vi, 121-138  
 the Holy Alliance, vi, 177  
 declares war on Persia and conquers Armenia, vi, 217  
 Crimean War, vi, 329-343  
 Battle of Inkerman, vi, 347-355  
 invades Turkey, vii, 130, 134

Russia, sovereignty over Siberia, vii, 7  
 position of Russian serfs, vii, 27  
 Russo-Prussian alliance formed, vii, 39  
 Constitution of, viii, 121  
 diplomatic relations with Japan, viii, 16  
 fleet defeated at Port Arthur, viii, 31  
 incident of Dogger Bank, viii, 41-46  
 capitulation of Port Arthur, viii, 63  
 loss of Mukden, viii, 76  
 freedom of worship granted, viii, 87  
 Baltic fleet annihilated, viii, 87  
 Peace Treaty signed at Portsmouth, N. H.,  
 viii, 98, 107-121  
 new national parliament instituted, viii, 162  
 first Russian Duma meets, viii, 195-200  
 Czar dissolves Duma and proclaims martial  
 law, viii, 207  
 evacuation of Manchuria, viii, 217  
 troops occupy Teheran, viii, 291  
 at war with Germany, ix, 5  
 Kerensky, ix, 20, 21  
 peace of Brest-Litovsk, ix, 22  
 (See also Russians; Union of Soviet Socialist  
 Republics)

### Russian Conquest of the Crimea, The, v, 303

Russian Parliament, first, viii, 195  
 Russian serfs, freeing of, vii, 25, 27  
 Russians, in World War I, ix, 7, 8, 9  
 Russo-Japanese War, causes of, viii, 221  
 Russo-Turkish war, vi, 208  
 Rustam, the Persian general, ii, 219  
 Ruthenia, ix, 380; x, 16  
 Ruyter, de, iv, 322  
 Ryswick, Peace of, v, 66  
 Ryukyu Islands, x, 412  
 key island of, invaded, x, 331

## S

Saar (Sarre), ix, 123-125  
 rejoins Germany, ix, 295, 307  
 Commission, ix, 114, 124  
 Saarbrücken, battle of, vii, 120  
 Sabines, the, i, 92  
 Sabine women, rape of the, i, 90  
 Sackville, Lord George, v, 205  
 Sacred Band, the, i, 308  
 Sacred War, first, i, 109

Sacrifice, human, i, 253  
 at Olympia, i, 83  
 Sadowa, battle of, vii, 21  
 Saff, x, 147  
 Sagasta, vii, 96, 101, 104  
 Sahara, airlines in, ix, 251  
 St. Albans, battle of, iii, 254  
 St. Antoine, battle of, iv, 314  
 St. Arnaud, General, vi, 315  
 Marshal, vi, 329, 330, 340  
 St. Clair, General, v, 282  
 St. Egidio, battle of, iii, 209  
 St. Germain, Treaty of, iv, 184  
 St. Helena, Napoleon sent to, vi, 174  
 St. James, ii, 76  
 St. Jerome, ii, 166  
 St. John, ii, 103, 110  
 St. Lô, x, 291, 295, 296, 297, 299  
 St. Luke, ii, 69, 77  
 St. Mihiel salient, taken by Americans, ix, 29  
 St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, consecrated,  
 viii, 278  
 Saint Paul, Comte de, iv, 81. (See also St. Pol)  
 St. Peter's, Basilica of, ii, 258  
 begun, iii, 349  
 St. Petersburg founded, v, 67  
 name changed to Petrograd, ix, 6  
 St. Pierre, destruction of, vii, 289  
 St. Pol, iv, 73  
 St. Quentin, battle of, iv, 118  
 St. Sophia, church of, ii, 203  
 St. Thomas, sack of, iv, 264  
 Saipan, x, 249, 312, 320, 372  
 Sakhalin, viii, 109  
 Sakyas, the, i, 99  
 Saladin, iii, 2  
 becomes Sultan of Egypt, ii, 350  
 captures Jerusalem, ii, 350  
 fights against crusade, iii, 6, 7  
 Salamis, i, 209  
 battle of, i, 221  
 Salem, persecution of witches at, v, 65  
 Salerno, x, 173  
 Salerno, x, 172, 173-182, 226, 306  
 Salic Law enforced, iii, 112  
 Salisbury, Earl of, attacks Orleans, ii, 212  
 Salisbury, Earl of (Robert Cecil), iv, 227, 229  
 Salisbury, Lord, vii, 132, 139  
 Salisbury, railway accident at, viii, 207



# INDEX

- Salmeron, iv, 101  
 Saluces, Marquis de, iv, 73  
 Salvation Army, vii, 80  
 Salzburg, x, 351  
 Samnites, the, ii, 48, 49  
 Samnite wars, i, 296  
 Sampson, Admiral, vii, 204  
 San, or Sansi, i, 27  
 San Bernardino Strait, x, 262, 263, 287  
 Sanctuary at Jerusalem, ii, 126  
 San Domingo (Santo Domingo), insurrection  
     in v, 340  
     republic of, vi, 217, 247  
     President assassinated, viii, 291  
 Sandwich Islands discovered, v, 269  
*San Francisco*, x, 104  
 San Francisco Conference, delegates convene,  
     x, 339  
     Conference closes, x, 386  
     Argentine question, x, 389-391  
     Latin-American bloc, x, 390-394  
     veto power issue, x, 392-393  
**San Francisco Disaster, The**, viii, 175  
 San Ildefonso, treaty of, v, 294  
 San Salvador, iii, 301  
 San Stefano, treaty of, vii, 130  
 Santa Cruz Islands, Battle of, x, 133  
 Santa Fé built, iii, 278  
 Santa Rosa, vi, 195  
 Santiago, battle of, vii, 205  
 Santos-Dumont, vii, 279  
 Sapor (King of Persia), death of, ii, 148  
     defeats Valerian, ii, 117  
 Saracen army, ii, 231  
 Saracens, under Omar, ii, 217  
     loss of, at Cadesia, ii, 220  
     land in Spain, ii, 230  
     conquests of the, ii, 239  
     invade France, ii, 241  
     invade Rome, ii, 259  
*Saratoga*, x, 117  
 Saratoga, v, 285, 290  
 Sardapanalus, i, 73  
 Sardica, Council of, ii, 164  
 Sardinia, i, 332; ii, 4; vi, 345; vii, 20  
     joins war with Russia, vi, 338  
 Sardinians, gallantry of, vi, 340  
 Sardis, the Persians besiege, i, 156  
     capture of, i, 156  
 Sardis, fall of, i, 158  
 Sarmatians invade Illyricum, ii, 156  
 Sarre. (*See* Saar)  
 Sarrut, General, death of, vi, 148  
 Sarto, Cardinal, Joseph, vii, 369  
 Sassanian dynasty, ii, 219  
 Satapathabrahmana, quotation from the, i, 15  
 Saudi Arabia, x, 27  
 Savage, Sir John, iii, 272  
 Savary, General, vi, 223  
 SAVIC, V. R.  
     A United Yugoslavia, ix, 67  
 Savona, capture of, iv, 81  
     taken by Doria, iv, 74  
 Savonarola, Girolamo, iii, 327  
     excites populace, iii, 311  
     attitude of, toward the Renaissance, iii, 327  
     sermons of, iii, 328, 331  
     policies of, iii, 328-330  
     enemies of, iii, 333  
     trial by fire of, iii, 334  
     imprisoned, iii, 335  
 Savoy, Duke of, iv, 76  
**Saxon Conquest of Britain, The**, ii, 181  
 Saxons, revolt against Henry IV. of Germany,  
     ii, 323  
     victory at Deorham, ii, 191  
 Saxony, Crown Prince of, vii, 121  
 Scarborough, Parke, x, 304  
 Schacht, Hjalmar, ix, 289, 290, 315  
*Scharnhorst*, x, 118  
 SCHAUFFLER, ROBERT HAVEN  
     The Eruption of Vesuvius, viii, 165  
 Schillenburg, General, x, 353  
 Schiller, iv, 274  
 Schism, the Great, iii, 133, 195  
 Schleicher, Kurt von, German Chancellor, ix,  
     278, 291-292  
 Schley, Admiral, vii, 214  
 Schnee, Heinrich, ix, 267  
 Schomberg, Meinhardt, v, 33, 34, 37, 41  
 Schönbrunn, Treaty of, vi, 118  
 SCHOULER, JAMES  
     The Battle of Gettysburg, vii, 65  
     The Declaration of Independence, v, 271  
     The Discovery of Gold in California, vi, 259  
     The Emancipation of the Slaves, vii, 55  
     The Fight between the *Monitor* and the  
         *Merrimac*, vii, 41

- Schultz, Fritz, x, 350  
 Schwab, Charles M., ix, 93  
 Scipio, Nasica, ii, 24  
   elected Consul, ii, 31  
 Scipio, Publius, ii, 7, 29, 34, 37  
   expels Carthaginians from Spain, ii, 21  
   lands in Africa, ii, 21  
   destroys Carthage, ii, 22  
   attacks Megara, ii, 31  
   blocks harbor, ii, 32  
   curse of, ii, 35  
 Slavonians, ii, 280  
   defeated by Henry I. of Germany, ii, 282  
 Scotland, united, iii, 112  
   Reformation in, iv, 138  
   unites with England, v, 89  
 Scots, the, ii, 180  
   prepare for war, iii, 100  
 Scott, Robert Falcon, sails, viii, 263  
 Scottish leaders, iii, 102  
   archers, iii, 108  
   army, iv, 20  
 Scutage, ii, 330  
 Scythia, Goths in, ii, 269  
 Sea Beggars, the, iv, 159  
 "Sea Dogs," the, iv, 169  
 Sea of Japan, battle of the, viii, 89  
 Seattle, viii, 139  
 Sebastopol. (*See* Sevastopol)  
 Secession of Panama and the Panama Canal, The, vii, 377  
 Seckendorff, v, 145, 150  
 Second Republic and the Second Empire in France, The, vi, 311  
 Sedan, battle of, vii, 122  
 Segestes, ii, 79  
 Selim III., captures Egypt, Syria, Palestine, iv, 26  
   Sultan of Othman Empire, iv, 146  
   wants Cyprus, iv, 147  
 Seljuk Turks conquer Persia, ii, 334  
 Semitic emigration, the, i, 24  
 Senate, the, i, 59, 120  
 Senate Public Lands Committee, ix, 217  
 Senator of Rome, office of the, iii, 132  
 Senlac, battle of, ii, 308  
 Sennacherib, i, 125  
   pillages Judah, i, 127  
   advance of, i, 129  
 Sennacherib, destruction of, i, 131  
   results of disaster of, i, 132  
 Separation of Norway and Sweden, The, viii, 99  
 Sepoys, outbreak of, vii, 1  
 September massacres, vi, 19  
 Septimius Severus, persecutes Christians, ii, 114  
 Serajevo, ix, 208  
 Serbia (Servia), vii, 130, 131, 141, 158  
   Pachitch becomes premier, viii, 374  
   receives Austrian ultimatum, ix, 5  
   at war with Bulgarians, ix, 9  
   achieves independence, ix, 69  
   in way of German expansion, ix, 72  
   Danube Commission, ix, 159  
 Serrano, General, vii, 97, 99, 101, 103, 108  
 SETON—WATSON, R. W.  
   The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, ix, 1  
 Sevastopol, position of, vi, 330  
   attack on, vi, 333  
   siege of, vi, 337  
   fired, vi, 342  
   taken by Germans, x, 132  
   retaken by Russians, x, 214  
 Seven Bishops, trial of the, v, 1  
 Seven Weeks' War, vii, 83  
 Seven Years' War, The, v, 193  
 Seven Years' War, v, 210  
 Severus, becomes emperor, ii, 142  
   death of, ii, 142  
 Sevez, Francois, x, 344  
 Seville, first auto-da-fé at, iii, 268  
   reduced by Musa, ii, 236  
   rebellion of, ii, 237  
 Sewing-machine, the, vi, 306  
 Sforza, Francesco, iv, 58, 63, 65, 76  
 Shackleton, Sir Ernest, viii, 242; ix, 7, 11  
 Shalmaneser V., i, 53, 72  
 Shanghai, ix, 277, 344, 367  
 Shaw, American destroyer, x, 106  
 Shawanawaze pillaged, iii, 180-181  
 Shekan, massacre of, vii, 146  
 Shenandoah, wrecked, ix, 371  
 Shepherd Kings, i, 19  
 Shepherds, the watching, ii, 70, 75-76  
 Sherman, Frederick C., x, 264, 265, 267, 268  
 Sherman's march through Georgia, vii, 80  
 SHERROD, ROBERT  
   Report from Tarawa, x, 183

# INDEX

- Shigemitsu, Mamoru, x, 414  
 "Ship-money," ii, 297  
 Shore, Sir John, v, 335  
 Shoup, David, x, 189, 191  
 Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, v, 89  
 Siam. (*See* Thailand)  
 Siberia, first exiles to, v, 89  
   Poles sent to, vi, 230  
   railway across, vii, 161-168; ix, 79  
   Japanese troops withdrawn from, ix, 199  
   Japanese menace to, ix, 374; x, 24  
 Siberian railway, vii, 159, 161  
 Sibuyan Sea, x, 262-264  
 Sicilian Vespers, *The*, iii, 75  
 Sicilian Vespers, story of, iii, 81-82  
 Sicily, captured by Athens, i, 258  
   first slave insurrection in, ii, 44  
   subdued by the Arabs, ii, 259  
   taken from the Saracens, ii, 266  
   conquest of, ii, 267  
   importance of conquering, iii, 11  
   dissatisfaction in, iii, 78  
   disaffection in, iii, 80  
   taxation in, iii, 80  
   Easter in, iii, 81  
   Garibaldi's invasion of, vii, 19  
 Sicily invaded, x, 171  
   conquest of, completed, x, 172  
 Sickles, General, vii, 71, 77  
 Sidon captured by Crusaders, ii, 350  
 Siege of Acre, *The*, vi, 71  
 Siege of Jerusalem, *The*, ii, 119  
 Siege of Port Arthur, *The*, viii, 65  
 Siege of Syracuse, *The*, i, 253  
 Siege of Vienna, *The*, iv, 321  
 Sieges, famous, viii, 70  
 Siegfried Line, x, 313  
 Sierra Leone, v, 302  
 Sieyès, Abbé, vi, 84  
 Sigismund, King of Hungary, iii, 191, 192  
   summons Council of Constance, iii, 192  
   opposed by Bohemians, iii, 195-196  
   defeated, iii, 197  
   coronation of, as King of Bohemia, iii, 198  
 Sigurd, ii, 262  
 Sikhs, the, troubles begin with, vi, 248  
 Sikh War, second, vi, 258  
 Silesia, vi, 167; ix, 56, 119, 126; x, 13, 313  
   seized by Frederick the Great, v, 164  
 Silesia, invaded by Frederick the Great,  
   v, 167  
   recaptured, v, 196  
 Silk-making in Europe, ii, 203  
 Simard, Capt., x, 125  
 SIME, JAMES  
   *The Franco-German War*, vii, 117  
   *Revival of the Imperial Dignity*, ii, 285  
 Simon de Montfort (1st), iii, 13, 36  
   death of, iii, 38  
 Simon de Montfort (2d), iii, 65  
   military successes of, iii, 67  
 Simon de Montfort (3d), iii, 72  
 Simplon Tunnel, *The*, viii, 73  
 Sincous, brother of Rurik, ii, 273  
 Singapore, Japanese take, x, 110  
*Sirio*, wrecked, viii, 216  
 Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition, iv, 261  
 SISMONDI, J. C. L. DE  
   Charles V. Conquers Italy, iv, 57  
   Charles VIII. Invades Italy, iii, 305  
   *The Decline and Fall of Venice*, vi, 45  
   *League of Cambray*, iv, 1  
 Sixtus, Roman bishop, ii, 116  
 Slave question, the, vii, 55  
 Slaves, emancipation of, vii, 63  
 Slavs, the, ii, 269-270  
 Sleswig, German colony at, ii, 283  
 Slocum, General, vii, 69  
 Slovakia, under the Magyars, ix, 83  
   Poland drops claims to, x, 13  
   joins Axis, x, 75  
 Slovenes, ix, 68, 73-78  
 Small-pox, inoculation for, v, 144  
 Smigly-Rydz, General, x, 12, 16  
 Smith, Adam, v, 230; vi, 233  
   publication of "Wealth of Nations," by,  
   v, 269  
 Smith, Dan F., Jr., x, 264, 265  
 Smith, Captain John, iv, 213  
   adventures of, iv, 213  
   saved by Pocahontas, iv, 218  
   President of Council, iv, 220  
   returns to England, iv, 223  
 Smith, Sir Thomas, iv, 220  
 Smith, Sir W. Sidney, vi, 74, 77  
 Smith, Walter Bedell, x, 344  
 Smolensk, x, 85  
 Smolensko, French enter, vi, 126

## SMOLLETT, TOBIAS

- The Capture of Cape Breton, v, 171
- The First Jacobite Rebellion, v, 117
- Smuts, Field Marshal, x, 219, 222
- Smyrna, ix, 207, 210
- Snow King, the, iv, 275
- Sobieski, John, iv, 324; vi, 49
- Socage, ii, 330
- Social and Mithridatic Wars, ii, 45
- Social Democrats, in Germany, ix, 283, 286, 289
- Social Revolution, ix, 222
- Social War (Athens), i, 296
- Socialist Government in France, ix, 312, 319
- Society Islands discovered, v, 222
- Society of Jesus, v, 245
  - (See also Jesuits)
- Society of the Garden Ruccellai, iv, 11
- Socinus, iv, 109
- Socrates, conduct of, i, 279
  - death of, i, 275, 282
  - visitors to, i, 275
  - on immortality, i, 276
- Soimonoff, General, vi, 347
- Soissons, taken by Allies, ix, 24, 26, 27
- SOKOLSKY, GEORGE E.
  - Manchuria: A New Act in the World Drama, ix, 261
- Solace, x, 98
- Soldier Bonus Bill, ix, 224, 308
- Solemn League and Covenant, iv, 303
- Solferino, battle of, vii, 14
- Soliman invades Austria, iv, 75
- Solomon Islands, x, 411, 413
- Solon, i, 111, 113, 121, 183
- Solon's laws, criticism of, i, 120
  - classification of the people, i, 114
- Solyman the Magnificent, attacks Malta, iv, 142
- Somaliland, exploration of, vi, 356
  - Italian interest in, ix, 304
  - British Somaliland attacked by Italians, x, 75
  - Italian Somaliland taken by British, x, 75
- Somers, Sir George, iv, 222
- Somers, John, v, 4, 27
- Sonderbund, dissolved, vi, 258
- SONDERN, FREDERIC JR.
  - The Invasion, x, 227
- Soong, T. V., ix, 365
- Soryu, x, 117, 126

- Soult, Marshal, paintings of, vi, 142
- South Africa, Union of, vii, 130; ix, 185
- South American finance, viii, 210
- South Carolina, founded, iv, 316
- South China, at war with North China, ix, 198, 199
  - Sun Yat Sen, president of, dies, ix, 226
- South Dakota, x, 413
- South Pole, first reached, viii, 311
  - Byrd at, ix, 293-294
- South Sea Bubble, The, v, 133
- South Sea Bubble, v, 140
- South Sea Company, v, 134, 138
  - organized, v, 102
- SOUTHEY, ROBERT
  - The Battle of the Nile, vi, 57
- Soviet Russia. (See Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
- Soviet Union. (See Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
- Spain, Visigoths conquer, ii, 194
  - attack by the Arabs, ii, 225
  - Inquisition established in, iii, 268
  - Christian kingdoms of, united, iii, 268
  - fall of the Arabian Empire in, iii, 279, 283
  - growth of, iii, 284
  - rise of power of, iii, 306
  - intolerance in, iii, 340
  - outbreak of Moors in, iii, 343
  - expels the Moors, iii, 349
  - possessions of, v, 72-73
  - Wars against Great Britain, vi, 103
  - Chili and Peru make war on, vii, 80
  - Liberals in, vii, 93, 95, 99
  - rebellion in, vii, 96
  - republic, vii, 129
  - universal suffrage in, vii, 159
  - Republican victory in, ix, 258
  - adopts new constitution, ix, 259
  - recognizes Soviet Union, ix, 293
  - civil war in, ix, 311-327, 380
  - Franco government in, ix, 343
  - Franco regime recognized, ix, 380
  - neutral in World War II, x, 24
- Spaniards, cruelty of, iv, 4, 13, 70
- Spanish Armada, iv, 176, 180
- "Spanish Fury," the, iv, 161
- Spanish Netherlands, the, iv, 164
  - successes in, iv, 160

# INDEX

- Spanish nobility, Jewish blood in, iii, 286  
 Spanish-Papal invasion of Ireland, iv, 208  
 Sparta, rise of, i, 57, 209  
     attacked by the Corinthians, i, 283  
     and Thebes, war between, i, 296  
 Spartan children, training of, i, 66  
 "Special Correspondent," vi, 331  
 Speculation, mania for, v, 135  
 Speech, beginnings of, i, 2-3  
 Spencer, Stanley, vii, 280  
     sails balloon, vii, 375  
**SPENDER, HAROLD**  
     The League of the Balkan States, viii, 375  
**SPEWACK, SAMUEL**  
     Passing of Lenin, ix, 219  
 Speyer, Henry IV. (Germany) at, ii, 324  
 Spider, Mohammed and the, ii, 210-211  
 Spires, Diet of, iv, 35  
*Spirit of St. Louis*, The, Lindbergh's airplane,  
     ix, 252  
 Spitzbergen, polar flights from, ix, 231-232  
 Spoil, wealth of Persian, ii, 222  
 Spokane, viii, 137  
 Spoleto, duchy of, founded, ii, 248  
 Sprague, C. A. F., x, 285, 286, 291, 292  
 Sprague, Thomas L., x, 286, 297  
 Spruance, Admiral, x, 113, 114, 119, 128, 129,  
     130  
*Squalus*, U. S. submarine, founders, ix, 392  
 Stair, Lord, v, 119  
 Stair, Master of, v, 43, 119  
 Stalin, Josef, x, 22, 23, 24, 78, 140, 141, 215,  
     216, 343  
 Stalingrad besieged, x, 133  
     Germans at, destroyed, x, 149, 151-171  
 Stamford Bridge, battle of, ii, 307-308  
 Stamp Act, the, v, 217, 219  
 Stanislaus, King of Poland, v, 243  
 Stanley, Henry M., vii, 144, 158  
     on Victoria Nyanza, vii, 130  
 Stanley, Sir William, iii, 271  
 Star Chamber abolished, iv, 293  
 Star worshippers, Chaldeans as, i, 28  
 Starhemberg, Count, iv, 323, 328  
 States-General, Netherlands, iv, 151  
 States-General of France, first, iii, 90  
     meeting of, in, 1789, v, 314  
 States of Franche-Comté, ii, 257  
 Stauffacher of Schwyz, iii 92  
 Steamboat, first, vi, 101  
     inventors of the, vi, 95  
 Steam engine, the, v, 227  
     Fulton orders, vi, 100  
     of Watt, vi, 92  
 Steam plow, the, vi, 309  
 Steam printing press, vi, 304  
 Steam railways, vi, 300  
 Steamships, vi, 299  
 Steenkirke, battle of, v, 65  
**STEEVENS, G. W.**  
     The Battle of Elandslaagte, vii, 257  
     The Battle of Omdurman, vii, 219  
     The Rise of Mahdism, vii, 145  
 Steinmetz, General von, vii, 120  
 Stephen of Blois, ii, 337, 345  
 Stephenson, George, vi, 301  
 Stephenson, Robert, vii, 111  
 Stettin, v, 132  
 Stettinius, Edward R. Jr., x, 390, 391  
 Stimson, Henry L., ix, 259, 270, 272  
 Stirling, Admiral, Sir James, vi, 328  
 Stirling, the gate of Scotland, iii, 99, 110  
 Stoessel, General, viii, 200, 207  
 Stolypin, viii, 207  
**STONE, I. F.**  
     Farewell to F. D. R., x, 333  
 Stone implements, early use of, i, 6-8  
 Stork at Aquileia, story of, ii, 172  
 Storm-gods, of Zoroaster, i, 36  
 Storm-troops, Nazi, ix, 282  
 Storthing, the, iii, 53  
 Störting, x, 33, 45  
 Strafford, impeachment of, iv, 293  
 Stralsund besieged, iv, 273  
 Strang, M., x, 22  
 Strassman, Dr. F., x, 407  
 Stratus, ii, 37  
 Streeter, Mrs. Ruth Cheney, x, 171  
 Strongbow conquers Ireland, ii, 350  
 Struensee, v, 235, 245  
**STUBBS, WILLIAM**  
     The Baron's War and First English Parlia-  
         ment, iii, 61  
     The Third Crusade, iii, 1  
 Stump, Felix B., x, 286  
 Submarine War Zone, ix, 8  
 Submarines, sink *Lusitania*, ix, 9  
     voyages of *Deutschland*, ix, 11

- Submarine, unrestricted warfare of, ix, 15, 16  
*Squalus* founders, ix, 392  
 Midgit, x, 88-89  
 Shell Midway, x, 127  
 Japanese, in Battle of Midway, x, 129-130  
 losses from, x, 138, 140, 143  
 largest U. S., lost, x, 171  
 Italian, surrender, x, 178  
 Sudan, the, vii, 145  
   conquered by Mehemet Ali, vi, 199  
 Sudetenland, ix, 345, 351, 352, 354, 362  
 Suez Canal, The, vii, 109  
 Suez Canal, vi, 355; vii, 129  
 Sugar-cane taken to Hispaniola, iii, 349-350  
 Sulla, L. C., ii, 44, 48-49, 50  
*Sullivans*, x, 284  
 Summary of the Five-Power Treaty on  
   Naval Armament, ix, 191  
 Sun Yat Sen, viii, 291, 294, 295, 310; ix, 226  
 Superfortresses, x, 249, 312, 356, 371, 372,  
   376, 386, 401, 402  
 Suppression of the Greater Monasteries,  
   iv, 89  
 Suppression of the Templars, iii, 95  
*Sûrahs* of Mohammed, ii, 215  
 Suribachi, Mount, x, 313, 322, 323, 328  
 Surigao Strait, x, 262, 263, 271, 273-275, 278,  
   280, 287  
 Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, v, 279  
 Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, The,  
   v, 295  
 Surrey, challenges James IV., iv, 20  
 Susloparoff, Ivan, x, 344  
 Suwaroff (Suwarrow), v, 309; vi, 83  
 Sviatoslaf, ii, 277  
 Swabians, the, ii, 315  
 Swastika, on German flag, ix, 281, 307; x, 351  
 Sweden, absolute monarchy, iv, 320  
   rise and fall of, v, 93  
   separation from Norway, ix, 77  
   representatives sent to League, ix, 158  
   munitions sent to China, ix, 364  
   Oslo pact, x, 25  
   troops at Norway border, x, 55  
 Sweyn, devastations of, ii, 291  
   invade England, ii, 299  
   death of, ii, 300  
 Swiss  
   called to aid of Italy, iv, 5  
   in Milan, iv, 9  
   Guard, vi, 15  
 Swiss Confederacy, The: Swiss War of In-  
   dependence, The, iii, 91  
 Switzerland, ducal tyranny in, iii, 92  
   railway between Italy and, viii, 73, 76  
   participation in League, ix, 155, 159, 160  
   intermediary, German peace feelers, x, 366  
   intermediary, Japanese peace note, x, 409  
 Sybaris, destruction of, i, 209  
 Sylvester, Pope, banished, ii, 199  
 Sylvester III, Pope, ii, 313  
 SYMONDS, JOHN ADDINGTON  
   The Execution of Savonarola, iii, 327  
 Symphorian, martyrdom of, ii, 114  
 Syracuse, foundation of, i, 109  
   siege of, i, 253  
   receives foreign aid, i, 262  
   vengeance of victors at, i, 267  
 Syria, a Roman province, ii, 51  
   conquered by Chosroes, ii, 204  
   attacked by Arabs, ii, 225  
   conquered by Turks, ii, 334  
   French mandate over, ix, 299  
   Syrian question at San Francisco Confer-  
   ence, x, 389  
 Szathmar, treaty of, v, 102
- T
- Table, manners at, i, 62  
   how supplied, i, 62  
 Tables, The Twelve, i, 232, 239  
   use of public, i, 62  
   admission of new members at, i, 63  
 Taborites, the, iii, 197  
 Tachau, battle of, iii, 197  
 Tacna-Arica, boundary dispute, ix, 199, 225  
 Tacoma, viii, 139  
 Taft, William H., Provisional Governor of  
   Cuba, viii, 216  
   in Japan, viii, 230  
   President, viii, 242  
   proposes arbitration treaty, viii, 279  
   admits Arizona to Union, viii, 310  
 Taillefer the Minstrel, ii, 309  
*Tainan Maru*, in Antarctic exploration, viii,  
   319

# INDEX

## TAINE, HIPPOLYTE ADOLPHE

The Reign of Terror, vi, 15

Tai Ping Rebellion, vi, 287

Takahira, viii, 109

Taking of the Bastille, The, v, 323

Taku forts captured, vii, 265

Talassius, i, 92

Talbot, Sir Gilbert, joins Earl of Richmond, iii, 271

Tallard, Marshal, v, 79, 81

Talleyrand, vi, 171, 182

Talmud, the, i, 34

Tamerlane, invades Hindustan, iii, 179  
orders massacres, iii, 180, 183, 184, 187  
in Battenize, iii, 182  
exterminates the Jits, iii, 183  
crosses the Jumna, iii, 185  
takes Delhi, iii, 186  
enters Delhi, iii, 188  
crosses the Ganges, iii, 188

Tammany Society founded, v, 312

Tancred, ii, 338, 344, 349; iii, 5

Tanganyika, vi, 356; vii, 130

Tanks, x, 143, 145

Tann, General von der, vii, 124

Tarawa, Gilbert Islands, Americans battle for, x, 182, 183-192

Tarentum, foundation of, i, 109

Tarik, expedition of, ii, 230  
enters Toledo, ii, 233  
protects the Christians, ii, 233  
rewards the Jews, ii, 233  
conquests of, ii, 234  
and Musa meet, ii, 237

Tarpeia, story of, i, 95

Tarquin, restoration planned, i, 200  
deposition of, i, 199

Tarquinius, King, consults Delphic Oracle, i, 195  
death of King, i, 209

Tarsus, Crusaders, dispute, ii, 344

Tartar army, discipline of the, iii, 27

Tashkent, viii, 33, 34, 38

Tasman, iv, 304

Tasmania discovered, iv, 304

Tatius, i, 95

Taurus, ii, 62

Tax, property and income in England, iv, 293

Taxation, on American colonies, v, 217  
no tyranny, v, 257  
illegal in France, iv, 308

## TAYLOR, BENJAMIN

The Secession of Panama and the Panama Canal, vii, 377

## TAYLOR, W. A.

The French Revolution of 1848, vi, 269

## TAYLOR, W. C.

The League, iv, 189

Tea, destroyed at Boston, v, 247

Teapot Dome, inquiry on, ix, 217, 224, 256

## TEATSORTH, RALPH

America's Greatest Naval Battle, x, 257

Tedder, Sir Arthur, x, 221, 223

Teheran, viii, 230-291; x, 213

Teias, Ostrogothic king, ii, 201

Tekeli, Count Emmerich, revolt of, iv, 323

Telamon, battle of, i, 332

Telegraph, the, vi, 302

Telegraphy, wireless, vii, 187

Telegraphy Without Wires, vii, 187

Telephone, invented, vii, 130

Television, publicly demonstrated, ix, 256

Tell, William, iii, 92

and the apple, iii, 93

death of, iii, 94

Teller, Alaska, *Norge* anchors at, ix, 240

## TEMPLE, SIR RICHARD

The Indian Mutiny, vii, 1

Temple, of Delphi, gifts to, i, 47

of Asylean god, i, 88

to Castor and Pollux, i, 208

of Hercules, i, 213; ii, 58

of Esculapius, ii, 34

of Janus closed, ii, 67

Temple of Jerusalem, is fired, ii, 127

fall of the, ii, 128

the Judeans retire to the, ii, 124

Temples, i, 79

Babylonian, i, 27, 30

Chaldean, i, 27

Temugin. (*See* Zingis)

Ten, Council of, iii, 90, 157, 159; vi, 48

*Tennessee*, x, 97, 102, 104, 275

Ten Thousand, retreat of the, i, 272

result of the expedition of the, i, 273

Terentilius Harsa, propositions of, i, 236  
law of, i, 241

- Terra Nova*, viii, 318  
 Terror in Japan, x, 371  
 Terry, Ellen, jubilee, viii, 193  
 Tertiary Period, i, 2  
 Tertullian, ii, 164  
 Teschen, Silesia, x, 13  
 Tetzl, John, indulgence, iv, 29  
     contested theses, iv, 30  
 Teuton, aim of the, ii, 255  
 Teuton and Roman, union of, ii, 259  
 Teutones, the, ii, 44, 48  
 Teutonic Order, the, iii, 55, 59  
 Tewksbury, battle of, iii, 254  
 Texas, admitted to Union, vi, 248  
 Thaelmann, Ernst, ix, 259  
 Thailand (Siam), ix, 113, 132, 307  
 Thamas Kouli Khan, v, 154  
 Thanet, Isle of, ii, 182  
 Theagenes, i, 307  
 Theatines, the, iv, 100  
 Thebans join Achæans, ii, 41  
 Thebes and Athens, rivals, i, 301, 302  
     alliance of, i, 306  
 Thebes and Sparta, at war, i, 296  
 Themis, the goddess, i, 45  
 Themistocles, i, 218, 221-232  
     offers human sacrifices, i, 227  
 Theodora, the Empress, ii, 200  
 Theodoric, King of Visigoths, ii, 169  
 Theodoric the Ostrogoth, ii, 197  
 Theodosius, Emperor of Rome, ii, 168  
     issues edicts against heretics, ii, 168  
 Thermopylæ, Pass of, i, 209  
     Germans break through, x, 76  
 Thessalian migration, i, 56  
 Thief, the repentant, ii, 102  
 Thiers, vi, 315; vii, 127  
     fall of, vi, 269  
 Third Crusade, The, iii, 1  
 Third International, the, in Mongolia, ix, 273  
 Third Reich, x, 369  
 Thirty Tyrants in Attica, i, 304  
 Thirty Years' War, The, iv, 269  
 Thomas, Francis J., x, 100  
 Thomas, Sir Rice, iii, 270  
 THOMPSON, SILVANUS P.  
     Telegraphy Without Wires, vii, 187  
 Thorak, Joseph, x, 351  
 Thou, de, execution of, iv, 293  
 Thrace, ii, 157; ix, 207, 210, 212  
 Three Henrys, War of the, iv, 192  
 Throckmorton, Thomas, iv, 234  
 THUCYDIDES  
     The Plague at Athens, i, 245  
 Thundering Legion, miracle of, ii, 113  
 Thuriot de la Rosière, v, 325  
 Thurkill, ii, 299  
 Thusnelda, ii, 79  
 Tiberius, Alexander, ii, 120  
     brother of Drusus, ii, 67  
     recalled from Germany, ii, 80  
 Tibet, viii, 19  
 Tibetan mission, viii, 16, 46  
 Ticonderoga, Fort, v, 207, 268, 282  
 Tientsin, Treaty of, vii, 7  
     trade with Chinese Turkestan, ix, 273  
 Tientsin, British withdraw troops from, ix, 367  
 Tiepolo, conspiracy of, iii, 90  
 Tierra del Fuego, iv, 43  
 Tilly, iv, 271, 272  
     general of Austrian armies, iv, 275  
 Tilsit, Peace of, vi, 116  
 Timbuctoo, vii, 159  
 Timur. (See Tamerlane)  
 Tinian Island, Americans control, x, 249  
 Tippoo Sahib, vi, 55  
 Tipú, Sultan, v, 335  
     death of, v, 339  
 Tirpitz, sunk, x, 312  
 Tissaphernes, i, 273  
 Titanic, wrecked, viii, 311  
 Titian's portrait of Francis I., iv, 53  
 Tito, Marshal, x, 356  
 Titus, Herminius, i, 206  
 Titus, son of Vespasian, ii, 118  
     appears before Jerusalem, ii, 119  
     crucifies 500 prisoners, ii, 122  
     "the delight of all mankind," ii, 122  
     penetrates the sanctuary of the temple (Jerusalem), ii, 127  
     orders Jerusalem to be fired, ii, 128  
     arch of, ii, 130  
     becomes Emperor, ii, 130  
 Tmolus, Mount, i, 157  
 Tobruk, battle for, x, 75, 140, 142, 143, 146  
 Todleben, General, vii, 134  
 Togo, Admiral, viii, 89, 127; x, 87  
 Togrul, ii, 334



# INDEX

- Tokio (Tokyo), bombed by superfortresses, x,  
312, 356, 372  
effects of attack on, x, 372-376, 378, 382  
American flag raised over, x, 415
- Tokio Bay, naval review in, viii, 127
- Tokugawa Shôguns, vi, 321
- Tomsberg destroyed, ii, 350
- Tonkin, vii, 150
- Tonnage, iv, 293
- Tools, beginnings of, i, 2-3, 5, 7
- Topete, Admiral, vii, 102
- Torgau, battle of, v, 197
- Tories, American Colonial, v, 256
- Torquemada, Thomas de, iii, 285, 288  
death of, iii, 348
- Toriente, Dr. C. D., President of League of  
Nations Assembly, ix, 216
- Toselli, Major, vii, 155
- Tostig, ii, 307
- To the North Pole by Air, ix, 227
- Totilas the Goth, ii, 201  
slain by Narses, ii, 201
- Toulon, French fleet scuttled at, x, 149
- Toulouse, iii, 37-38
- Tourelles, the, iii, 213, 222
- Tournay, battle of, v, 89
- Tours, battle of, ii, 242  
Arabian version of, ii, 242  
significance of the, ii, 245  
bombed, x, 72, 73
- Tourville, Admiral, fleet of, v, 58  
retreat of, v, 59
- Toussaint l'Ouverture, captured, vi, 103  
President of Hayti, vi, 90
- TOUT, T. F.  
Empire versus Papacy: Henry IV. at Canos-  
sa, ii, 315
- Tower, of Babel, i, 30  
of London, ii, 311  
of St. Romanus (Constantinople) falls, iii,  
230
- Towers, John, commands NC-boats' flight, ix,  
168
- Towns and corporations, ii, 333
- Towton, battle of, iii, 254
- Trade, laws for encouraging, i, 118
- Trafalgar, battle of, vi, 111  
centenary of battle of, viii, 127
- Traité des dames, Le*, iv, 75
- Trajan, edict of, ii, 111  
persecutions of Christians under, ii, 116
- Trajan, wages war against the Dacians, ii, 141  
conquers the Parthians, ii, 141  
death of, ii, 141
- Trajan's Column completed, ii, 141
- Transatlantic flight, Lindbergh's, ix, 243-255  
Byrd's and Chamberlin's, ix, 253
- Transcaucasia, earthquake in, vii, 279
- Trans-Siberian Railway, vii, 161-168; ix, 79
- Transvaal, vii, 144  
independence recognized, vi, 320  
gold discovered in, vii, 158
- Trasimene, Lake, battle of, i, 332
- Travel, growth of disposition to, vi, 301  
facilities for, vi, 299
- Traveling, mediæval, iii, 113
- Treaty, Barrier, v, 115
- Treaty, of Adrianople, vi, 209  
of Amiens, iv, 70; vi, 86  
of Berlin, vii, 141  
of Blois, Secret, iv, 1  
of Brittany, iii, 170  
of Cambray, iv, 75  
of Campo Formio, vi, 54  
of Carlowitz, vi, 49  
of Central America, viii, 207  
of Constance, ii, 350  
of Frankfort, ix, 121  
of Germany, Italy, Japan, x, 75  
of Great Britain and China (1842), vi, 243  
of Hanover, v, 131  
of Hubertsburg, v, 198  
of Iglau, iii, 198
- Isthmian Canal, vii, 279  
with Japan, vi, 323, 324, 327  
of Kutchuks Kainardji, v, 269  
of Lausanne, ix, 203, 204, 255, 260  
of London, vi, 206  
of Lubeck, iv, 273  
of Lucknow, v, 337  
of Luneville, vi, 85  
of Madrid, iv, 65  
of Münster, iv, 304  
of Nankin, vi, 247  
of Noyes, iii, 209  
of Nystad, v, 144
- Panama Canal, vii, 334; viii, 16  
of Paris, vi, 175, 356

- Treaty, of Passarowitz, vi, 50
  - of Poland and Czechoslovakia, x, 13
  - of Poland and Germany, x, 12
  - of Poland and Rumania, x, 13
  - of Portsmouth, viii, 121
  - of Presburg, vi, 114
  - of Russia and China, x, 408
  - of Russia and France, x, 12
  - of Russia and Germany, x, 22
  - of Russia and Great Britain, x, 85
  - of Russia and Japan, x, 76, 331
  - of Ryswick, v, 66
  - of St. Germain, iv, 184
  - of San Ildefonso, v, 294
  - of San Stefano, vii, 130, 138
  - of Schönbrunn, vi, 118
  - of Szathmar, v, 102
  - of Tien-tsin, vii, 7
  - of Tilsit, vi, 116
  - of Utrecht, v, 112
  - of Versailles, ix, 113-166, 182
  - of Vervins, iv, 203
  - of Vienna, vii, 38
  - of Villafranca, vii, 15
  - of Westphalia, iii, 121; iv, 165, 280
  - of Zanzibar, vii, 129
  - the Nine Power, ix, 272
- Treaty, the London Naval, ix, 258
- Treaty of Peace with Germany, official summary, ix, 113
  - League of Nations, ix, 114-119
  - Germany's boundaries, ix, 119, 120, 129
  - Luxembourg, ix, 121
  - left bank of Rhine, ix, 121
  - Alsace-Lorraine, ix, 121-123
  - Sarre Basin, ix, 123-125
  - German-Austria, ix, 126
  - Czechoslovakia, ix, 126, 161
  - Poland, ix, 126, 128
  - Danzig, ix, 128
  - Denmark, ix, 129
  - Helgoland, ix, 130
  - Russia, ix, 130
  - German colonies, ix, 130-131
  - surrender of ships, ix, 137
  - prisoners of war, ix, 139
  - William II, arraigned, ix, 140, 141
  - reparations, ix, 141, 146
  - opium, ix, 150, 151
- Treaty of Peace with Germany, pre-war debts, ix, 153, 154
  - freedom of transit, ix, 157
  - free zones, ix, 157
  - rivers, ix, 158, 160
  - railways, ix, 160
  - Kiel Canal, ix, 161
  - labor, ix, 161-164
  - signed, ix, 182
- Trees, laws regarding, i, 118
- Trent, Council of, iv, 104
- Trepassey Bay, ix, 169
- Tresham, Sir Francis, iv, 229, 240, 243
- Trezel, General, vi, 226
- Trial of the Seven Bishops, The, v, 1
- Triballi, the, i, 300
- Tribonian aids Justinian laws, ii, 202
- Tribur, assembly at, ii, 323
- Trichinopoly captured, v, 175
- Trieste, x, 356, 386
- Triple Alliance, viii, 377
- Triple Entente, viii, 377; ix, 340
- Tripoli, captured by Crusaders, ii, 350
  - taken by Turks, iv, 109
  - Sultan annexes, vi, 247
  - Rommel flees to, x, 146
- Tripson, John, x, 238
- Tristan d'Acunha, ii, 350
- Triumvirates, ii, 51
- Trotsky, Leon, ix, 327
- Trouvor, brother of Rurik, ii, 273
- Troy, siege of, i, 56
- Trojanovsky, Alexander, ix, 294
- Truce of God, the, ii, 312
- Truk, Japanese base, x, 214, 413
- Truman, Harry S., x, 331, 337-339, 341-342, 352, 387, 409
- Truths, the Four Great, i, 107
- Tuan, Prince, vii, 269
- Tuberculosis Congress, viii, 241
- Tunis, French take, vii, 144
  - taken by Charles V., iv, 87
- Tunisia, strategic value of, x, 146, 148
  - Axis surrenders in, x, 171
- Turanian nomads, ix, 213
- Turenne, iv, 310, 314
- Turin, Cabinet of, vii, 11
- Turkestan, iii, 28; ix, 273, 274
- Turkey, attacked by Russia, v, 239

# INDEX

- Turkey, declares war against Russia, v, 300  
 gains Servia, vi, 120  
 calls a parliament, vii, 133  
 in 1876, viii, 233, 235  
 Abdul Aziz assassinated, viii, 234  
 constitution, viii, 234  
 Abdul Hamid, Sultan, viii, 233  
 Turkish Parliament, viii, 237  
 social conditions in, viii, 240  
 war with Italy, viii, 290  
 Mohammed VI., Sultan, ix, 200  
 popular movements in, ix, 205  
 population of, ix, 212  
 revival of, ix, 204-205  
 at Lausanne, ix, 200, 203, 216  
 Republic voted, ix, 216  
 signs treaty with Soviet Union, ix, 242  
 modernization of, ix, 383-392  
 counter-balance to Axis, x, 26  
 declares war on Germany and Japan, x, 313
- Turkish conquests, ii, 334  
 Turkish tactics, ii, 344; vi, 78  
 Turkish war, end of the, v, 152
- Turks, the, ii, 334  
 rout of the, ii, 346  
 enter Egypt, ii, 350  
 capture Edessa, ii, 350  
 take Constantinople, iii, 246  
 invade Italy, iii, 268  
 take Rhodes, iv, 87  
 league with France, iv, 88  
 gain victory over Hungarians, iv, 87  
 take Buda, iv, 87  
 take Tripoli, iv, 109  
 defeat of, at Lepanto, iv, 149  
 capture Crete, iv, 316  
 invade Hungary, iv, 323  
 defeated by Louis of Baden, v, 41  
 defeated by Prince Eugene, v, 66  
 driven from Hungary, v, 131  
 defeated by Russians, v, 309  
 suppress revolt in Crete, vii, 84  
 Venetian wars with the, vi, 49  
 burn Smyrna, ix, 207  
 Ottoman, ix, 213  
 heritage of, ix, 213
- Turks and Greeks, ix, 206-207, 210, 211
- Tuscaloosa*, x, 229, 239-240, 246, 247
- Tuve, Dr. M. A., x, 407
- Tweed Ring (N. Y.), vii, 129
- TWEEDIE, E. ALEC  
 Diaz: The Maker of Modern Mexico, viii, 281
- Twenge, Sir Marmaduke, iii, 111
- Tycoon, the, vi, 322
- Tyler, Wat, Tebellion of, iii, 170
- Tyranny, the, i, 187  
 encroachment of ducal, in Switzerland, iii, 92
- Tyrants, suicide of the, i, 240  
 the ten, i, 239
- Tyrconnel, v, 35
- Tyre, wealth of, i, 123  
 importance of, i, 123  
 flight of King of, i, 125  
 loss of rank, i, 125  
 captured by Crusaders, ii, 350
- Tzargrad, the queen of cities, ii, 274  
 invaded by Oleg, ii, 275  
 third invasion of, ii, 276
- Tzar's Rescript, the, vii, 248
- ## U
- Ukraine, ix, 52, 92; x, 14, 16
- Ulm, capitulation of, vi, 110
- Ulster, colonization of, iv, 211
- Ulundi, vii, 144
- Umberto, Prince, x, 214
- Umezu, Yoshijiro, signs Japanese surrender, x, 414
- Uniformity, Act of, iv, 207
- Unzodjarski range, viii, 35
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Spain recognizes, ix, 293  
 in non-aggression pacts with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, ix, 294  
 sends first ambassador to United States, ix, 294  
 in Spanish Civil War, ix, 312  
 treason trials in, ix, 343  
 border warfare with Japan, ix, 374-375, 380  
 refuses British terms, x, 20  
 Russo-German pact, x, 22  
 invades Poland, x, 23  
 invades Finland, x, 27  
 Russo-Finnish peace, x, 27  
 takes Lithuania, x, 64  
 takes Latvia and Estonia, x, 75

- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, invaded by Germany, x, 77-85
- renounces Japan pact, x, 331
- army enters Vienna, x, 339
- accepts German surrender at Rheims, x, 344
- delegates at San Francisco Conference, x, 388
- at war with Japan, x, 402
- United Nations: Last Chance**, x, 387
- United Nations, declaration of, x, 110
- shipping losses of, x, 138
- Bretton-Woods Monetary Conference, x, 249
- Dumbarton Oaks Conference, x, 254
- Bulgaria signs armistice with, x, 312
- San Francisco Conference, x, 339, 386, 387
- United Nations World Charter**, x, 387
- Security Council, x, 387, 388, 394, 395, 399
- Assemblies, x, 387, 395
- International Court of Justice, x, 387, 401
- Economic and Social Council, x, 387, 395, 400
- trusteeships, x, 392
- veto power, x, 392-393
- bilateral treaties, x, 394
- use of military force, x, 394-395
- basic social rights, x, 395
- ratification of, x, 396-398
- U. S. ratifies, x, 402
- United States of America, foundation of the, laid, v, 209-210
- recognized, v, 293
- war against England, vi, 120
- recognizes French Republic, vi, 275
- expedition to Japan, vi, 323
- and Mexico, Empire of, vii, 50, 51
- buys Alaska, vii, 92
- annexes Hawaii, vii, 204
- cables to Japan established, viii, 215
- boundary agreement with Mexico, viii, 320
- conference of A.B.C. Powers in, ix, 4
- signs treaty with Turkey, ix, 216
- reservations to World Court protocol, ix, 242
- accepts French war debt agreement, ix, 242
- Senate defeats ratification of Lausanne Treaty, ix, 255
- oil lease cases in, ix, 256
- Herbert Hoover elected President, ix, 257
- and the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, ix, 257
- at Naval Conference, ix, 258
- United States of America, Senate passes **Naval Treaty**, ix, 258
- in Manchurian conflict, ix, 259, 270, 271, 272
- Franklin D. Roosevelt elected **President**, ix, 278
- Philippine independence bill passed, ix, 291
- Repeal amendment passed, ix, 292
- Roosevelt inaugurated, ix, 292
- bank holiday declared, ix, 292
- Beer bill signed, ix, 292-293
- relations with Soviet Union, ix, 13
- neutrality in Spanish Civil War, ix, 323-327
- Neutrality Act, ix, 343
- stake in China, ix, 376-378
- "cash and carry" foreign trade, x, 27
- opens relations with Saudi Arabia, x, 27
- Selective Service Act, x, 75
- attack on Pearl Harbor, x, 85, 87-108
- declares war on Japan, x, 109
- Germany and Italy declare war on, x, 110
- wins Battle of Midway, x, 111
- troops control Guadalcanal, x, 171
- Roosevelt dies, x, 331, 335
- Truman takes oath as President, x, 331
- drive on Berlin halts, x, 339
- V-E day in, x, 341
- accepts surrender of Germans, x, 344
- opposes Yugoslav claims to Trieste, x, 356
- announces demobilization plans, x, 356
- control Reich with Britain, France and Russia, x, 386
- at San Francisco Conference, x, 388
- Senate ratifies Security Charter, x, 402
- reply to Japanese surrender plea, x, 410
- accepts Japanese surrender, x, 414
- United States Coast Guard, x, 237, 317
- United States in World War I, rejects Boy-Ed and Von Papen, ix, 9
- dismisses Bernstorff, ix, 12
- declaration of war, ix, 13, 15, 17, 19
- Selective Draft Law, ix, 18, 20
- shipbuilding, ix, 18, 93
- cantonments, ix, 19
- National Army mobilized, ix, 19, 20
- first American dead, ix, 21
- war on Austria-Hungary, ix, 21
- Rainbow Division, ix, 92
- Americans in Italy, ix, 94

# INDEX

- United States in World War I, Belleau Wood, ix, 23, 94
  - troops reach Grandpré, ix, 33
  - aids starving Europe, ix, 95
  - naval tonnage allowed by treaty, ix, 191, 192, 196
- United States in World War II, Pacific possessions of, attacked, x, 85
  - losses of, at Pearl Harbor, x, 96, 99-103, 108
  - declares war on Japan, x, 110
  - Japan, Germany, and Italy declare war on, x, 110
  - loses Wake and Guam, x, 110
  - Manila falls, x, 110
  - Bataan and Corregidor fall, x, 110, 111
  - raids Tokyo, x, 110
  - lands on Guadalcanal, x, 132
  - Battle of Midway, x, 111
  - invades North Africa, x, 133
  - Pearl Harbor report, x, 149
  - invades Sicily, x, 171
  - lands on Kiska, x, 171
  - Salerno bridgehead established, x, 172
  - invades Naples area, x, 182
  - wins Tarawa, x, 182
  - invades Marshalls, x, 214
  - establishes Anzio beachhead, x, 214
  - bombs Berlin and Truk, x, 214
  - invades Europe, x, 214
  - superfortresses bomb Japan, x, 249
  - win Saipan, Guam, and Tinian, x, 249
  - enters Germany, x, 254
  - invades Philippines, x, 255
  - Second Battle of Philippine Sea, x, 257-300
  - German counter-offensive, "Belgian bulge," x, 312
  - retakes Corregidor, x, 313
  - Cologne capitulates, x, 313
  - Patton crosses Rhine, x, 330-331
  - invades Okinawa, x, 331
  - Germans surrender at Rheims, x, 344
  - Philippines liberated, x, 401
  - atomic bombs dropped on Japan, x, 402
  - Japan surrenders, x, 408, 415
- United States Marines, x, 183, 249, 254, 356, 386
- United States Navy, x, 87, 113, 149, 200, 257, 371, 401
- United Yugoslavia, A, ix, 67
- University of Halle, v, 66
- Ur, i, 22, 26
- Uranium, x, 405
- Urban II., Pope, ü, 335
- Uruguay, Orders out *Graf Spee*, x, 27
- Uruk, i, 25, 26, 29, 30
- U.S.S.R. (*See* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
- Utah, x, 105
- Utica, ü, 36
- Utrecht, Union of, iv, 163
  - Peace of, v, 112; x, 387

## V

- V-2 rocket bombs, x, 312
- Valdez, Juan, iv, 99
- Valée, General, vi, 227
- Valens, ii, 153, 168
- VALENTINE, DAVID T.
  - The Discovery and Settlement of Manhattan Island, iv, 245
- Valentinian, ii, 153
  - Emperor of the West, ü, 168
- Valentinian III. sends embassy to Attila, ii, 176
- Valera, Eamon de, ix, 259, 292
- Valerian, persecutes Christians, ii, 116
  - conquered by the Persians, ii, 142
- Valerius, i, 240
- Valetta, iv, 146
- Valette, Jean Parisot de la, Grand Master of Knights of St. John, iv, 143, 145
- Valmy, battle of, vi, 1-14
- Valois, House of, iii, 112
- Vancouver explores northwest coast of America, v, 334
- Van de Graaff, R. J., x, 406
- Vanguard, the, vi, 58
- VAN NORMAN, LOUIS E., AND PEET, GEORGE
  - The Czecho-slovak Nation, ix, 79
- Varangians, the, ii, 265, 270
  - and Slavs, ii, 271
- Varangian soldiers, ii, 266
- Variag*, wreck of, viii, 216
- Varus, Q., succeeds Tiberius in Germany, ii, 80
  - character and achievements of, ü, 80-86
- Vasa, Gustavus, King of Sweden, iv, 87
- Vasco da Gama, voyage of, iii, 320-321, 326

- Vasco da Gama, captains of, and fleet of,  
iii, 319  
names Natal, iii, 322  
return of, iii, 325
- Vassal, the feudal, ii, 331
- Vaterland*, seized vessel, ix, 18
- Vatican, the, vii, 359  
attacked, iv, 67
- Vaudois attacked, iv, 316
- V-Day in Paris, x, 251
- Ve, i, 18
- V-E day in Europe, x, 339, 341
- Vedrine, makes speed record, viii, 310
- Veii, Romans, at, i, 294
- Venables and Penn take Jamaica, iv, 316
- Vendée, La, vi, 43, 84
- Venetians, aid Crusaders, iii, 13  
gain Constantinople, iii, 18  
attitude toward the Empire, iii, 20
- Venezuela, vii, 280; x, 395  
declares independence, vi, 217  
and United States, viii, 231  
Castro exiled, viii, 263
- Vengrov, battle of, vii, 36
- Venice, foundation of the Republic of, ii, 174  
wealth of, ii, 174  
Doge of, ii, 350  
aided by Cosmo de' Medici, iii, 176-177  
France declares war with, iv, 2  
greatness of, vi, 45  
Republic, policy of, vi, 46  
Republic, conspiracy against, vi, 47  
and French Revolution, vi, 51  
attacks the French, vi, 54  
Allied troops seize, x, 339
- Venizelos, Greek premier, 1919-1920, ix, 206  
heads revolt in Greece, ix, 307
- Verdun, surrender of, vi, 7
- Verneuil, taken by Bedford, iii, 209
- Vernon takes Portobello, v, 164
- Verona, Congress of, vi, 196
- Verrazano enters New York Bay, iv, 245
- Versailles, mob marches to, v, 317
- Versailles Treaty, Germany abrogates, ix,  
308, 343 (*See also* Treaty of Versailles)
- Ver-sur-Mer, *America* comes down at, ix, 248
- Vervins, Treaty of, iv, 203
- Vesle River, crossed by Americans, ix, 26, 27,  
28
- Vespasian becomes Emperor of Rome, ii, 118
- Vestal*, x, 99, 104
- Vestal priestesses, i, 289, 290
- Vesuvius, eruption of, ii, 131-141  
earthquake, viii, 168-169  
eruptions of, viii, 165
- Viau, Sir Philip, x, 229
- Vichy, capital of Unoccupied France, x, 75
- Vicksburg, capture of, vii, 54
- Victor, General, vi, 135
- Victor at Olympia, i, 83
- Victor Emmanuel, vi, 191, 195; vii, 11, 14, 21
- Victor Emmanuel III, x, 214
- Victoria becomes Queen of England, vi, 231  
Empress of India, vii, 130  
celebrates Diamond Jubilee, vii, 204
- Victoria Falls Bridge, The, viii, 123
- Victory in Europe, x, 341
- Victory of Arminius, ii, 79
- Victory of Victories. (*See* *Nehavend*)
- Victory Parade, in Paris, ix, 182
- Vienna, capture of, vi, 117  
siege of, iv, 321  
Peace of, v, 165  
Congress of, vi, 172  
revolution (1848), vi, 280  
Treaty of, vii, 38; x, 387  
falls to Russians, x, 339
- Vietinghoff, Heinrich von, x, 348
- Vieweg, Walter, x, 290, 300
- Vikings, ferocity of the, ii, 262  
conquests of the, ii, 259-260, 261-267
- Vili, i, 18
- Villa, Mexican bandit, killed, ix, 10, 201
- Villa, Viciosa, iv, 316
- Villafranca, Peace of, vii, 15
- Villars, Marshal, v, 107, 113
- Villehardouin, Geoffroi, iii, 12, 14
- Villeins, the, ii, 331
- Villena, ravages Alpuxarras, iii, 276
- Villeneuve, Admiral, vi, 105
- Vilna, assigned to Poland, ix, 201
- Vinland, (*America*) discovered, ii, 260
- Vinoy, General, vii, 124
- Vipiteno, Italy, x, 351
- Virginia, Charter, the first, iv, 215  
English colonists in, iv, 215, 220  
Jamestown founded in, iv, 217  
the new charter, iv, 221

# INDEX

- Virginia, negro slaves imported to, iv, 259  
 House of Burgesses, v, 259  
 story of, i, 239  
 Virginius, i, 236, 239  
 Visconti, the, extinguished, iii, 226  
 Visigoths conquer Spain and Gaul, ii, 194  
 Vitellius the Glutton, ii, 118  
 Vitiges, King of the Goths, ii, 199  
 Vitousek, Roy, x, 97  
 Vittoria, battle of, vi, 138  
 description of, vi, 141-153  
 VIVIAN, HERBERT  
 A Glorious Revolution in Serbia, vii, 347  
 Vladimir I., ii, 265-266, 278  
 Voisin Brothers, inventors and builders of air-  
 planes, ix, 248  
*Volksstrum*, x, 254  
 VOLTAIRE, FRANÇOIS MARIE  
 AROUET DE  
 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, iv, 331  
 Voyage of the "Mayflower," The, iv, 283  
 Voyages of Vasco da Gama, iii, 317

## W

- WAC. (*See* Women's Army Corps)  
 Wad-en-Nejumi, vii, 149  
 Wage Law, Minimum, ix, 308, 343  
 Wagram, battle of, vi, 117  
 Wainwright, Gen. Jonathan M., commands in  
 Philippines, x, 415  
 Wake Island, attacked by Japan, x, 88, 110  
 Walcheren Island, x, 312  
 Waldemar I. of Denmark, ii, 350  
 Waldenses founded, ii, 350  
 Waldo, Peter, ii, 350  
 Waldron, John C., x, 115  
 Wales, Prince and Princess of, in India, viii, 127  
 Wales, Prince of, origin of motto of, iii, 129  
 Wales subjugated by Edward, iii, 82  
 WALLACE, ALFRED RUSSEL  
 Anæsthetics and Antiseptics, vii, 81  
 Modern Illumination, vi, 213  
 Photography, vii, 195  
 Wallace, William, iii, 82  
 Wallenstein, Albert (Count), marches of, iv,  
 272  
 besieges Stralsund, iv, 273  
 described by Schiller, iv, 274  
 Wallenstein, dismissed, iv, 274  
 recalled, iv, 277  
 assassination of, iv, 279  
 Waller, Capt., x, 240  
 Walpole, Horace, v, 139, 141, 209  
 Walter, Hurbert, Bishop of Salisbury, iii, 4  
 Walter the Penniless, ii, 337  
 Wandu and Wejas, i, 18  
 War Between Charles I. and the Parlia-  
 ment, The, iv, 295  
 War Correspondents, x, 320, 372  
 War of 1812, vi, 120  
 War of American Revolution, v, 268  
 War of Greek Independence, vi, 201  
 War of the Austrian Succession, v, 165  
 War of the Polish Succession, v, 145  
 War of the Roses, iii, 254  
 War of the Three Henrys, iv, 192  
 War Production Board, x, 201  
 War Production in United States, x, 203  
 of synthetic rubber, x, 204  
 of merchant ships, x, 205-206  
 of smokeless powder, x, 206  
 of machine tools, x, 207  
 capacity of, x, 207-208  
 manpower in, x, 209  
 of planes, x, 210-211  
 peak of, x, 204, 212  
 American genius in, x, 213  
 of atom bomb, x, 406, 408  
*Ward*, x, 89, 90, 106  
 WARD, H. SNOWDEN  
 Discovery of the X-Rays, vii, 181  
 Warr, Lord de la, iv, 222, 225  
 Warsaw, occupied by Russians, v, 243  
 agitation at, vii, 32  
 taken by Germans, x, 27  
 freed, x, 313  
 Warships, modern, first battle of, vii, 169  
 Wartburg Castle, Luther in, iv, 33  
 Warwick, Earl of, sends message to Edward  
 at Crecy, iii, 127  
 Warwick, captured, iii, 67  
 Washington, George, captures Fort Duquesne,  
 v, 207  
 elected President, v, 312  
 Washington, city of, laid out, v, 312  
 Washington Naval Treaty, ix, 191, 198, 216  
*Wasp*, x, 257

- Water, early boiling of, i, 6
- Waterloo, vi, 174
- Watt, James, v, 227; vi, 92, 306
- Weather, in invasions, x, 221-223, 226, 316-317
- Webster, Daniel, "open door" policy of, ix, 272
- Wedgwood potteries, v, 235
- Weimar, Constitution of, ix, 285, 288
- WEINERT, ERICH
  - A Close-up at Stalingrad, x, 151
- Weissenburg, battle of, vii, 120
- Wellesley, the Marquess, v, 335
- Wellington, Duke of, vi, 116, 145, 152, 170, 173, 210, 237
- Welman, Walter, viii, 243, 278
- We Must Win Another Battle in Germany, x, 357
- Wenceslaus, son of Charles IV., iii, 191, 196
- Wenzeslas, Duke, attacked by Henry I., ii, 282
- Werder, General von, vii, 126
- Wesley, Charles, v, 159
- Wesley, John, v, 159
  - in Georgia, v, 154
- Wessex, Golden Dragon of, ii, 308
- Western Europe and the Holy Alliance, vi, 177
- WESTERVELT, G. C.
  - The Flight of the NC-Boats, ix, 167
- West India Company, the, iv, 251, 253
- West Virginia*, x, 97, 102, 103, 104, 275
- Westminster, Provisions of, iii, 73
  - William the Conqueror crowned at, ii, 311
- Westminster Abbey, vii, 315
- Westphalia, Peace of, iii, 121; iv, 280
  - Treaty of, iv, 165; x, 387
- Weygand, Maxime, x, 59
- Weyler, George, x, 277
- Weymouth, Captain George, iv, 255
  - discoveries of, iv, 256
- Whigs, fall of the, v, 103
- WHITE, ARNOLD
  - Massacre of the Jews in Russia, vii, 337
- White, Stanford, shot, viii, 206
- White Company, the, iii, 37
- White Plains*, x, 289, 291, 293
- White Russia, x, 390
- Whitefield, v, 154, 157
- Whitlock, Brand, leaves Belgium, ix, 13
- Whitney, John Perry, x, 286, 288, 289, 290
- Why I Revived the Olympic Games, viii, 187
- Wilderness, battle of the, vii, 80
- Wilkes, John, v, 213, 264
- William I. (England), the Conqueror, ii, 263, 305
  - prepares to invade England, ii, 306
  - anchors off Pevensey, ii, 308
  - ruse of, ii, 310
  - coronation of, ii, 311
  - general submission to, ii, 311
- William II., Rufus, ii, 349
- William III., of Orange (England), v, 19
  - supporters of, v, 21
  - enters England, v, 23
  - invades Ireland, v, 30
  - army of, v, 32
  - heroism of, v, 39
  - death of, v, 73
- William of Orange, iv, 153, 162
  - becomes a Calvinist, iv, 158
  - becomes stadtholder, iv, 160
  - assassination of, iv, 164
- William I., King of Prussia, vii, 117, 123
- William II., German Emperor, flees, ix, 95
- William and Mary, v, 27
- Williams, General Fenwick, vi, 342
- Wills, laws concerning, i, 117
- Wilson, Sir Henry H., assassinated, ix, 199
- WILSON, WOODROW
  - The Fourteen Points, ix, 39
- Wilson, Woodrow, nominated, viii, 320; ix, 11
  - address on submarine issue, ix, 10
  - war message, ix, 13, 16
  - Fourteen Points, ix, 44-47
  - works of peace, ix, 94, 95
  - serious illness of, ix, 182
  - death of, ix, 224
- Wimbledon, battle at, ii, 191
- Wimpfen, General, vii, 122
- Winchester, ii, 190, 311
- Windsor, Duke of, ix, 331
- Winter, Thomas, iv, 234
- Winters, Commander, x, 299
- Wippsfleet, struggle at, ii, 188
- Wireless telegraphy, viii, 216, 279
  - development of, viii, 320
- WISBY, HROLF
  - Haakon VII., King of Norway, viii, 203



# INDEX

- Wisby, iii, 115
- Witches (Salem), v, 65
- Witiza the Goth, ii, 228
- Witte, chief Minister of Russia, viii, 98
- Witwatersrand, vii, 158
- Wodehouse, Colonel, vii, 149
- Wolfe, General, at Quebec, v, 208
- WOLFE, HENRY C.
  - Nazi Eyes Turn East, ix, 347
- WOLFERT, IRA
  - The Invasion, x, 236
- Wolff, Karl, x, 348
- Wolsey, Cardinal, iv, 49, 51, 52
- Woman Suffrage League, International, viii, 46
  - in California, viii, 278
  - British demonstrations, viii, 290
- Women, training of, i, 65
- Women's Army Corps (WAC), Mrs. Oveta
  - Culp Hobby directs, x, 111
- Wood, Leonard, ix, 256
- WOODHOUSE, HENRY
  - The Conquest of the Air, viii, 355
- Word, the, i, 37
- Worden, John L., vii, 43
- World War I, assassination of Francis Ferdinand, ix, 1
  - ultimatum to Serbia, ix, 5
  - Austrians bombard Belgrade, ix, 5
  - Russia mobilizes, ix, 5
  - Germans invade Belgium, ix, 5
  - British in Belgium, ix, 6
  - Allies retreat, ix, 6
  - the Marne battle, ix, 6
  - Antwerp falls, ix, 7
  - Battle of Lodz, ix, 7
  - Belgrade taken, and retaken, ix, 7
  - Russians in the Caucasus, ix, 7
  - Russians in East Prussia, ix, 8
  - submarine war zone, ix, 8, 13
  - Bulgarians invade Serbia, ix, 9
  - Second Battle of Ypres, ix, 9
  - Lusitania* torpedoed, ix, 9
  - case of Edith Cavell, ix, 9
  - Gallipoli evacuated, ix, 9, 10
  - submarines unrestricted, ix, 12
  - Kut-el-Amara taken, ix, 12
  - United States in War, ix, 15, 20
  - Pershing commands A. E. F., ix, 19
  - Italy invaded, ix, 20-21
  - World War I, Jerusalem taken, ix, 21
  - Russian-Teuton armistice, ix, 22
  - Allied counter-offensive, ix, 94
  - German retreat, ix, 94
  - Armistice, ix, 37, 95
  - surrender of German fleet, ix, 95
- World War II, (All of Volume x is devoted to the causes, progress, and completion of World War II. See chronological references listed below.)
  - September 28, 1939-April 9, 1940, x, 27
  - May 10, 1940-June 22, 1940, x, 64
  - June 27, 1940-June 22, 1941, x, 74-76
  - June 26, 1941-December 7, 1941, x, 85
  - December 8, 1941-June 3-6, 1942, x, 110-111
  - July 1, 1942-November 7, 1942, x, 132-133
  - November 10, 1942-January 31, 1943, x, 148-149
  - February 6, 1943-September 9, 1943, x, 171-172
  - October 1, 1943-November 23, 1943, x, 182
  - November 22-25, 1943-June 6, 1944, x, 213-214
  - June 15, 1944-August 25, 1944, x, 249
  - August 21-October 7, 1944-October 23-26, 1944, x, 254-255
  - October 28, 1944-March 16, 1945, x, 312-313
  - March 17, 1945-April 12, 1945, x, 330-331
  - April 13, 1945-May 8, 1945, x, 339
  - May 9, 1945-May 29, 1945, x, 356
  - June 1, 1945-June 26, 1945, x, 386
  - June 28, 1945-August 9, 1945, x, 401-402
  - August 10, 1945-September 2, 1945, x, 408
  - September 8, 1945-September 10, 1945, x, 415
  - (See also separate countries)
  - China
  - Czechoslovakia
  - Denmark
  - Egypt
  - Ethiopia
  - Finland
  - France
  - Germany
  - Great Britain
  - Greece
  - Hungary

## World War II, India

Iran (Persia)

Italy

Japan

Luxembourg

Manchukuo

Mexico

Morocco

Netherlands

New Zealand

Norway

Philippine Islands

Poland

Rumania

Spain

Thailand

Tunisia

Turkey

U.S.S.R. (Russia)

United States

Yugoslavia

(See also United States in World War II,  
United Nations, and Battles.)

World's Columbian Exposition, vii, 168

Worms, Council at, ii, 321

Diet of, iv, 32

Wörth, battle of, vii, 120

Wright, John, iv, 234

Wright brothers, Orville and Wilbur, viii, 243,  
364, 366-369; ix, 248, 249

WYLLY, COLONEL H. C.

Into Tibet, viii, 19

Wyndham, William, arrest of, v, 121

## X

Xanthippus's dog, i, 224

Xavier, Francis, iv, 101

Xenophon, march of, i, 273

Xeres, battle at, ii, 231

Xerxes, i, 221-222, 226-231

Ximenez, appears in Granada, iii, 340

vandalism of, iii, 342

goes to Seville, iii, 344

policy of, iii, 346

Xisuthrus, i, 13, 21

Xochiquetzal, i, 15

X-rays, vii, 179, 181

Xylography, iii, 251

## Y

Yalta Conference, x, 313

Yalu, battle of the, vii, 169; viii, 30

*Yankee Clipper*, first transatlantic mail flight  
of, ix, 392

Year, the Greek, i, 77

"Yellow Peril," the, vii, 276

Yezdegerd, grandson of Chosroes, ii, 219

King of Persia, flight of, ii, 224

Ymir, i, 18

YONGE, CHARLOTTE M.

Conquests of Mexico and Peru, iv, 13

La Fronde, iv, 305

Malta and Lepanto, iv, 141

Partition of Poland, v, 237

The Siege of Vienna, iv, 321

York, the capital of Britain, ii, 193

*Yorktown*, x, 114, 119-120, 123-124,  
129-131

YOSHI-AKI AND EASTLAKE

The Battle of the Yalu, vii, 169

Yoshihito, crowned, ix, 9

death of, ix, 242

Young Plan, ix, 258, 290

"Young Turks," revolt of, viii, 231, 233

Ypres, Second Battle of, ix, 9

Yuan Shih-Kai, viii, 310

Yugoslavia, peoples in, ix, 67-69

Austrian oppression of, ix, 70-71

Nazis invade, x, 76

at San Francisco Conference, x, 394

YULE, HENRY

Marco Polo's Travels, iii, 83

Yunnan, French sphere of influence in, ix, 275

## Z

Zama, effect of the battle of, ii, 1

Zamoiski, Count Andrew, vii, 32

Zamora, Niceto Alcalá, elected President of  
Spain, ix, 258

Zanzibar, Treaty of, vii, 129

Zara, ii, 350

siege of, iii, 14

Zarathustra, i, 38

Zealots, the, ii, 121, 123, 125, 129

Zem-Zem, the well, ii, 206

Zend-Avesta, i, 33

## INDEX

- Zenobia**, ancestry of, ii, 143  
character and accomplishments of, ii, 143  
domains of, ii, 145  
captured by Aurelian, ii, 148-151
- Zeppelin**, Count, viii, 231, 263
- Zhukoff**, Gregory, x, 345
- Zingis Khan**, ancestry of, iii, 23  
first battle of, iii, 23  
barbaric rites of, iii, 24  
laws of, iii, 25  
religion of, iii, 26  
illiteracy of, iii, 26  
invasion of China by, iii, 27  
empire of, iii, 28
- Zingis Khan**, army of, iii, 29  
cities conquered by, iii, 29  
generals of, conquests of, iii, 30  
sons of, iii, 31  
successors of, iii, 31
- Zion**, destruction of, ii, 129
- Ziska**, iii, 197
- Zonta**, the, iii, 159
- Zorndorf**, battle of, v, 196, 204
- Zoroaster**, i, 33
- Zoroaster**, i, 33-42
- Zoroastrianism**, i, 19, 33, 42
- Zozimus**, ii, 165
- Zwingle**, Ulric, iv, 27, 34



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